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## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

By Dj. JERKOVIC

Only in the coming months and years will people be able to grasp and assess correctly the results of the meeting of leaders of non-aligned countries which was held in Belgrade from September 1 to 6, and which — we may safely say — marked the beginning of a new era in the development of a policy which has always identified itself with the endeavours of people everywhere to overcome the situation in which the world is profoundly divided — rent by a series of contradictions and various forms of inequality, and constantly kept on the brink of war — and to establish a community of free and equal nations which would live and progress side by side in peace and security.

There are, however, certain things which ought to be stated and defined. It is true that the persistent doubts and insinuations which had been made during the preparations for the Conference, alleging that its aim would be to create a new, third bloc — or, at least, a new political group of states with aims different from those which the initiators of the Conference and its delegates had been consistently and courageously following year after year — were silenced after it was held. The Belgrade Conference — its proceedings, its resolutions, and the spirit that inspired it — silenced

all these insinuations, thus proving that the policy pursued by its initiators and participants stood for something greater than the narrow-minded ideas and framework of blocs and military-political groupations and that, in harmony with its aims, it was universal in character. The Conference Declaration clearly defined the policy of non-alignment, saying that “the extension of the region of non-alignment is the only possible alternative to the bloc division of the world and to the intensification of the cold war policy”, and “that the non-aligned countries firmly support all nations that are fighting for their real independence and equality”. This definition of the policy of non-alignment reveals its functions in the present-day world and determines the basic lines of its activity. Its aim — as an alternative to the division of the world into blocs — is to overcome and eliminate this division, and to establish cooperation among nations, irrespective of the differences between countries or groups of countries. The objectives of the policy of non-alignment are to liquidate the cold war, end the armaments race, and conclude an agreement on complete disarmament, as well as to solve all problems resulting from the bloc division, the cold war and the



armaments race, among which the German problem, in all its forms holds a prominent place.

The policy of non-alignment includes the giving of "encouragement" and permanent and concrete support to countries and nations deprived of their independence and national liberties: nations which are subjected to this or that form of discrimination. This means that the non-aligned countries are consistently endeavouring to eliminate not only bloc contradictions, but also the division of the world into free and enslaved, ruling and dependent nations.

Thus, efforts to liquidate colonialism and eradicate the causes of backwardness in individual regions and countries are the essential elements of this policy.

By defining the policy of non-alignment the Belgrade Conference — Following the draft agenda adopted at the preparatory meeting held in Cairo in June — made an important contribution to its correct understanding, for its basic and common ideas had never before been defined and adopted by such an imposing number of countries.

The general thesis of the statesmen who took part in the Conference was that the present-day world was undergoing a profound and thorough transformation of relations among people and nations. The world as a whole was discarding the old relations and the old order, which is characterized by various forms of national, racial and social inequality, domination and exploitation and which is therefore, pregnant with the constant danger of conflicts and wars. There is evidence of a world movement to establish new relations and ways of life, in place of these conditions. But in this transitional period, conflicts are possible and perhaps inescapable between forces which uphold two opposing tendencies — one of which seeks to retard progressive changes, and the other which, in harmony with the historical inevitability, supports and promotes this process. In consequence of this, world relations are developing on an insufficiently stable basis, and peace may be endangered, now in one and now in another part of the world. In a period in which such profound and far-reaching changes are taking place, the greatest efforts must be made to render the inevitable as painless as possible. That is why the leaders of the non-aligned countries declared at their Conference that the only way out of the present situation was to eliminate the bloc division of the world, liquidate colonialism and imperialism and, at the same time, adopt and implement the policy of peaceful coexistence among nations on a much wider scale.

With this in mind, the Conference declared that... "war among nations is not only an anachronism, but a crime against mankind". War is not only senseless and unjust: it threatens to turn the world into chaos and destroy the very foundations of life.

The Conference Declaration puts particular emphasis on the fact that, in the present period of transition, the world is characterized by different social systems. But neither this fact nor the differences in social systems should obstruct the stabilization of peace, just as ideological differences are no justification for the cold war, for oppression, or for the imposition of one nation's will on others. In its Declaration the Conference therefore called for active international coope-

ration based on coexistence among States with different ideologies and systems. The way in which the meaning of the policy of coexistence is formulated in the Declaration, i.e., that... "the policy of coexistence stands for active efforts to eliminate historical injustice and liquidate national subjugation, as well as to make possible the independent development of every nation"... is of special importance in the proper understanding of the policy of coexistence.

In accordance with this reasoning, the Belgrade Conference indicated the outstanding international problems, emphasizing that the time had come to solve them by negotiation and in the spirit of generally accepted principles. Bearing in mind that the big powers were especially responsible for the question of war and peace, the Conference appealed to these powers to endeavour more firmly than in the past to solve controversial issues by negotiation, and in a concrete and realistic manner.

Not only was the responsibility of the big powers evident, but it was also impossible to disregard the fact that their mutual relations were so disturbed that they had many times proved unable to embark upon the path of negotiation, and as a result of this, the prospect of taking positive action for the solving of the most crucial international problems had been progressively diminished. Thus, it was concluded that the participation of the non-aligned countries in the solving of these problems was inevitable, since these countries were directly affected by them.

They way in which outstanding and concrete world problems were treated at the Conference and defined in its Declaration was in full accordance with the spirit which had inspired its holding and with the conception of the role of nonalignment in the present-day world.

Outstanding and controversial world issues, the solving of which would correspond to the basic aim of the Conference, i.e., to ensure peace and progress of the world, can be divided into two groups: those which are the direct result of relations between big military groups, such as disarmament in its various forms, the problems of Germany, Berlin, etc., and those which have mainly arisen outside the area of East-West relations, but which are also the result of the policies of the big and highly developed countries towards other nations of the world, and of the cold war policy. The Conference limited itself to a brief consideration of various elements of the German problem, and concentrated its attention on the most serious effects of the cold war and inter-bloc conflicts: the question of disarmament which has, for many years, been the key problem of war and peace. The Conference took a step of far-reaching importance when it demanded an immediate approach to the solution of this problem under United Nations supervision, in which the non-aligned countries would directly participate. Another step of great consequence taken by the Conference was the suggestion that the United Nations General Assembly should meet in a special session this year or that a world conference on disarmament should be convened, so as to put an end to the armaments race, and reach agreement on complete and general disarmament with an efficient system of control.



This appeal of the 25 countries which took part in the Conference, which was made, not only at the right time, but perhaps even at the eleventh hour, was followed — for the first time since the beginning of the cold war and armaments race — by realistic prospects for the ending of the dangerous standstill which the problem of disarmament had reached. It is now up to the General Assembly, or even more up to representatives of the countries which took part in the Conference and of the many other countries which share their views on this particular question, to initiate a decisive action which would bring about enormous relief, inspire new hopes, and lead to new endeavours to improve the international situation.

The majority of the other problems listed in the Declaration concerned colonialism and neo-colonialism as manifested in Algeria, Congo, Angola, South Africa, Bizerta, Palestine and, finally, Cuba, which was given a prominent place in the final declaration issued by the Conference. By giving its unreserved support to these nations and countries, which are fighting for their legitimate and natural rights, the leaders who attended the Belgrade Conference gave their full support to the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Nations of the fifteenth meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, and recommended the immediate, unconditional and final liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The Conference showed special interest in world economic problems, the solving of which would consolidate world economy and ensure its normal development. It particularly emphasized the need to accelerate the general efforts and the United Nations actions, such as the establishment of SUNFED, to promote the advancement of the underdeveloped regions of the world.

The Conference also indicated the need to do away with the barriers and restrictions which hamper equal and unobstructed economic cooperation throughout the world. The idea of convening a wider international economic conference came as a natural supplement to the proposal to call a disarmament conference and to the efforts to eliminate the remnants of colonialism.

In view of the fact that, in the opinion of the non-aligned world, UNO has a unique role to play, the Belgrade Conference devoted full attention to measures which would render the world Organization more efficient and more successful in its functions. The Conference concluded that planned efforts should be made to revise the United Nations Charter, with the object of enlarging the membership of its two main organs: the Security Council and ECOSOC, where countries which were colonies until recently and which make up nearly half of the membership of the Organization are not adequately represented.

The Conference also concluded that the structure of the United Nations Secretariat should be changed, so as to make it possible for all regions of the world to be equally represented in it.

In summing up the first and immediate — and therefore inevitably incomplete — impressions and views of the Belgrade Conference, it may be said that it successfully formulated the platform of the policy of non-alignment and of the basic elements of a long-term programme of political activity. A long period of useful activities was anticipated by the Conference, which surpassed in scope all similar gatherings in the past, and which marked the beginning of a new period, in which an international policy would gain new strength. Among the concrete actions of the 25 Heads of State or Government were an appeal for peace and messages sent to leaders of East and West in the present acute crisis over Berlin and Germany. The Conference Declaration reveals their determination to act in unison over a long period until the noble aims of the policy of non-alignment have been achieved. This will be accomplished all the more successfully if the countries which participated in the Conference continue to maintain their high degree of unanimity of views and action, and if further progress is made in the expansion of the zone of peace and of the policy of non alignment to the many new regions which are — not only potentially — ready to accept and pursue this policy, as the only alternative to the bloc division of the world and the cold war: as a sure road to a world of true coexistence.

## DELEGATE-COUNTRIES

### AFGHANISTAN

Area: 650,000 sq. km.

Population: 13,150,000

Capital: Kabul

Head of State: **King Mohammad Zahir Shah**

Prime Minister: **Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan**

Head of the Delegation

**Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan,**

Prime Minister

### ALGERIA

Area: 2,381,741 sq. km.

Population: 10,930,000

Capital: Algiers

Prime Minister: **Benkhedda Ben Youssef**

Head of the Delegation

**Benkhedda Ben Youssef,**

Prime Minister



## BURMA

Area: 678,033 sq. km.  
Population: 20,622,000  
Capital: Rangoon  
Head of State: **U Vin Maung**, President of the Republic  
Prime Minister: **U Nu**  
Head of the Delegation  
**U Nu**,  
Prime Minister

## CAMBODIA

Area: 172,511 sq. km.  
Population: 4,845,000  
Capital: Phnompenh  
Head of State: Prince **Norodom Sihanouk**  
Prime Minister: **Pen Nut**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Prince Norodom Sihanouk**,

## CEYLON

Area: 65,610 sq. km.  
Population: 9,612,000  
Capital: Colombo  
Head of State: **Queen Elizabeth II**, Represented by  
Governor-General, Sir **Oliver Goonetilleke**  
Prime Minister: **Sirimavo Bandaranaike**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Sirimavo Bandaranaike**,  
Prime Minister

## CUBA

Area: 114,524 sq. km.  
Population: 6,743,000  
Capital: Havana  
Head of State: Dr. **Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado**,  
President of the Republic  
Prime Minister: Dr. **Fidel Castro**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado**,  
President of the Republic

## CYPRUS

Area: 9,251 sq. km.  
Population: 563,000  
Capital: Nicosia  
Head of State: **Archbishop Makarios**, President of the  
Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Archbishop Makarios**,  
President of the Republic

## ETHIOPIA

Area: 1,184,320 sq. km.  
Population: 21,800,000  
Capital: Addis Ababa  
Head of State: **Emperor Haile Selassie I**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Haile Selassie I**,  
Emperor

## GHANA

Area: 237,873 sq. km.  
Population: 6,691,000

Capital: Accra

Head of State: Dr. **Kwame Nkrumah**, President of the  
Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Dr. Kwame Nkrumah**,  
President of the Republic

## GUINEA

Area: 245,857 sq. km.  
Population: 3,000,000  
Capital: Conakry  
Head of State: **Sékou Touré**, President of the Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Beavogui Luis Lansama**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

## INDIA

Area: 3,289,000 sq. km.  
Population: 408,050,000  
Capital: New Delhi  
Head of State: Dr. **Rajendra Prasad**, President of the  
Republic  
Prime Minister: **Jawaharlal Nehru**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Jawaharlal Nehru**,  
Prime Minister

## INDONESIA

Area: 1,492,000 sq. km.  
Population: 92,600,000  
Capital: Jakarta  
Head of State: Dr. **Ahmed Soekarno**, President of the  
Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Dr. Soekarno**,  
President of the Republic

## IRAQ

Area: 444,000 sq. km.  
Population: 6,952,000  
Capital: Baghdad  
Head of State: **Najib al Rubay**  
Prime Minister: **Abdul Karim Kassem**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Dr. Hashim Jawad**,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Personal Plenipotentiary of  
Prime Minister Kassem,

## LEBANON

Area: 10,400 sq. km.  
Population: 1,550,000  
Capital: Beirut  
Head of State: General **Fuad Shehab**, President of the  
Republic  
Prime Minister: **Saeb Salam**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Saeb Salam**,  
President of the Council of Ministers



## **MALI**

Area: 1,204,021 sq. km.  
Population: 4,300,000  
Capital: Bamako  
Head of State: **Modibo Keita**, President of the Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Modibo Keita**,  
President of the Republic

## **MOROCCO**

Area: 443,680 sq. km.  
Population: 11,598,000  
Capital: Rabat  
Head of State: **King Hassan II**  
Head of the Delegation  
**King Hassan II**

## **NEPAL**

Area: 140,000 sq. km.  
Population: 9,000,000  
Capital: Kathmandu  
Head of State: **King Mahendra Bir Bikram**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Maharajadhiraja Mahendra Bir**  
**Bikram Shah Deva**,

## **SAUDI ARABIA**

Area: 1,600,000 sq. km.  
Population: 6,036,000  
Capital: Riyadh  
Head of State: **King Ibn Saud**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Sheikh Ibrahim Sowayel**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Personal Representative of  
King Saud of Saudi Arabia

## **SOMALIA**

Area: 637,661 sq. km.  
Population: 1,990,000  
Capital: Mogadiscio  
Head of State: **Adan Abdullah Osman**, President of  
the Republic  
Prime Minister: **Dr. Abdirash Ali Shermak**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Adan Abdullah Osman**,  
President of the Republic

## **SUDAN**

Area: 2,505,823 sq. km.  
Population: 11,615,000  
Capital: Khartoum  
Head of State: **General Ibrahim Abboud**, President of  
the Supreme Council of the Sudanese Armed Forces  
Head of the Delegation  
**Ibrahim Abboud**,  
President of the Supreme Council of the  
Sudanese Armed Forces

## **TUNISIA**

Area: 125,180 sq. km.  
Population: 3,935,000  
Capital: Tunis  
Head of State: **Habib Bourguiba**, President of the  
Republic

Head of the Delegation  
**Habib Bourguiba**  
President of the Republic

## **U.A.R.**

Area: 1,184,479 sq. km.  
Population: 29,904,000  
Capital: Cairo  
Head of State: **Gamal Abdel Nasser**, President of the  
Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Gamal Abdel Nasser**,  
President of the Republic

## **YEMEN**

Area: 195,000 sq. km.  
Population: 4,500,000  
Capital: Sana  
Head of State: **Imam Ahmed Bin Yahya Mohamed**  
Head of the Delegation  
**Prince Seyful Islam El Hassan**,  
Permanent Representative in the  
United Nations,  
Personal Representative of Imam Ahmed  
Bin Yahya Mohamed

## **YUGOSLAVIA**

Area: 255,804 sq. km.  
Population: 18,756,000  
Capital: Belgrade  
Head of State: **Josip Broz Tito**, President of the  
Republic  
Head of the Delegation  
**Josip Broz-Tito**,  
President of the Republic

## **Observer-Countries**

### **BOLIVIA**

Area: 1,098,581 sq. km.  
Population: 3,462,000  
Capital: La Paz  
Head of State: **Victor Pas Estenssoro**  
Observers: **Fellman Valorde**, Minister of Education,  
**Jorge Gutierrez Alendrebe**, Minister  
Plenipotentiary, Chief of the Protocol  
at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### **BRAZIL**

Area: 8,513,844 sq. km.  
Population: 65,743,000  
Capital: Brazilia  
Observer: **De Melo Franco Filho**,  
Ambassador of Brazil in Switzerland

### **ECUADOR**

Area: 270,670 sq. km.  
Population: 4,298,000  
Capital: Quito  
Head of State: **Hoze Maria Velasco Ibarra**,  
Observer: **Dr. Jose Joaquim Silva**,  
Ambassador in Bonn



# WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

## September 1

At 10 a.m. on September 1, the historical meeting of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was opened by President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, who acted as host to the Conference. The Conference began its work in the large conference hall of the Federal People's Assembly Building. After a minute's silence in tribute to all those who lost their lives for freedom and independence of their countries, President Tito made his opening address. After his address, the delegates to the Conference unanimously adopted a report submitted by the Committee for Organizational Matters.

After hearing this Report, the delegates began to exchange views on the general international problems. The first speaker was President Soekarno of Indonesia. After a short recess, the general debate was continued in the second Conference session which was presided over by General Ibrahim Abboud. During this session a speech was made by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

During afternoon plenary sessions — third and fourth Conference sessions — President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia and President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic were in the chair. At these sessions, the Conference heard speeches of the leader of the Sudanese delegation, General Ibrahim Abboud, Premier U Nu of Burma, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia and Premier Mohammad Daud of Afghanistan.

## September 2

On the second day of its work, the Conference held four plenary sessions: fifth and sixth in the morning and seventh and eighth in the afternoon. The fifth session was presided over by Prince Seyful Islam el Hassan, the sixth by Mr Mohammad Daud, the seventh by Mr Benkhedda Ben Youssef and the eighth by Premier U Nu. The speakers in the general debate were: Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia and President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (fifth session), Premier Nehru of India and President Dorticos of Cuba (sixth session), Premier Saeb Salam of the Lebanon and the Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Sheikh Ibrahim Sowayel (seventh session) King Mahendra Bir Bikhram Shah Deva of Nepal and the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Mr Hashim Jawad (eighth session).

President Nasser's proposal to form a Drafting Committee to be entrusted with the drafting of a resolution on the problems included in the Conference agenda was adopted at the fifth plenary session. Representatives of all the delegate-countries were appointed members of the Committee.

## September 3

The ninth plenary session which began at 10 a.m. on September 3, was presided over by President Osvaldo Dorticos of Cuba. President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia and the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, took part in the general debate. The speakers at the tenth session, held under the Chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios, were the Premier of Ceylon Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and the Head of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

In the afternoon, Emperor Haile Selassie I presided over the eleventh plenary session. King Hassan II of Morocco, President Modibo Keita of Mali and the official Bolivian observer and Minister of Culture, Segnor Hose Felman Valorde, spoke during the session.

## SPEAKERS

J. B. TITO  
A. SOEKARNO  
G. A. NASSER  
I. ABBOUD  
U NU  
H. BOURGUIBA  
S. M. DAUD

H. SELASSIE I  
K. NKUMAH  
J. NEHRU  
O. DORTICOS  
S. SALAM  
I. SOWAYEL  
KING MAHENDRA  
H. JAWAD

J. B. TITO  
ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS  
S. BANDARANAIKE  
PRINCE N. SIHANOUK  
KING HASSAN II  
M. KEITA  
F. VALORDE



#### September 4

The general debate was held only at the morning sessions — twelfth and thirteenth — which were presided over by President Kwame Nkrumah and M. Beavogui Lansana respectively. At the twelfth session, the delegates to the Conference heard the speeches of the Guinean Foreign Minister and President Seku Toure's personal representative, M. Beavogui Lansana and President Adan Abdoulah Osman of Somalia. The speakers in the thirteenth session were the Prime Minister of the Provisional Algerian Government, M. Benkhedda Ben Youssef, and the leader of the Yemeni delegation, Prince Seyful Islam El Hassan.

The fourteenth Conference session was held in the afternoon in the Conference hall of the Federal Executive Council Building at Novi Beograd, specially adapted for that occasion. This was the first closed session of the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries who took part in the Belgrade Conference. Only the leaders of the delegations, each accompanied by one adviser, attended the session which opened at 4.50 p.m. and closed at 8.30 p.m.

#### September 5

The fifteenth plenary session presided over by Premier Saeb Salam, was marked by the presence of the delegation of Congo which arrived in Belgrade on September 4 to take part in the work of the Conference. In the beginning of the session, Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia announced his Government's decision to recognize the Provisional Algerian Government. In a brief speech, President Modibo Keita of Mali welcomed the decision of the Cambodian Government and called on the delegate-countries to follow Cambodia's suit, expressing his belief that such a step would be a positive contribution to the struggle of nations still under colonial domination. The leader of the Yugoslav delegation, President Josip Broz Tito, then announced that the Yugoslav Government had also decided to recognize the Provisional Algerian Government. Immediately afterwards, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana informed the delegates to the Conference of his Government's decision to join Cambodia and Yugoslavia in recognizing the Algerian Government. The decision of the three countries — Cambodia, Yugoslavia and Ghana — was warmly welcomed.

The list of speakers at this sessions included Premier Cyrille Adoula and Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga of Congo. After their speeches, President Soekarno called on the delegates to pay tribute to the late Congolese Premier, Patrice Lumumba, with a minute's silence.

At 5.00 p.m., the sixteenth — closed Conference session — began in the Federal Executive Council Building at Novi Beograd. The final text of the Conference documents was drawn up and approved at this session. The session, which lasted until 1.15 a.m. the following day, was attended by 25 leaders of the delegations and also by one member of each delegation.

#### September 6

The formal, closing session of the Belgrade Conference was opened in the conference hall of the Federal People's Assembly Building at 2.00 a.m. This session, held under the chairmanship of King Hassan II of Morocco, was attended by all representatives of the delegate-countries. Also present were the observers of Ecuador and Bolivia, and the observer of Brazil. First, the Speaker of the Drafting Committee, and member of the Burmese delegation, Mr James Barington, was called to the speaker's stand to read the text of documents approved — The Declaration on the Danger of War and Appeal for Peace and the Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. At 2.40 a.m., with a brief and warm speech, King Hassan II of Morocco, closed the Conference — a conference during which the highest representatives of 25 non-aligned countries undertook the noble task of seeking new ways and means of promoting peace and friendship among all nations, to the well-being of mankind.

B. LANSANA  
A. A. OSMAN  
B. BEN YOUSEF  
PRINCE SEYFUL  
EL HASSAN

C. ADOULA  
A. GIZENGA

KING HASSAN II



# Conference Agenda

- I. *Exchange of views on the international situation.*
- II. *Establishment and strengthening of international peace and security.*
  - 1) *Respect of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, struggle against imperialism, liquidation of colonialism and neocolonialism.*
  - 2) *Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; non-interference and non-intervention in internal affairs of States.*
  - 3) *Racial discrimination and apartheid.*
  - 4) *General and complete disarmament; banning of nuclear tests; problem of foreign military bases.*
  - 5) *Peaceful coexistence among States with different political and social systems.*
  - 6) *Role and structure of the United Nations and the implementation of its resolutions.*
- III. *Problems of unequal economic development; promotion of international economic and technical cooperation.*
- IV. *Other matters.*
- V. *Communiqué of the Conference.*

## GENERAL DEBATE

### PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH OF WELCOME

I am gratified to be able to extend to you, on behalf of the Government and peoples of Yugoslavia, our warmest greetings and wish you a pleasant stay in our country. Our peoples consider it a great honour to have such a distinguished gathering take place in Yugoslavia, particularly the citizens of Beograd, which has, throughout its long history, seen many wars of conquest, invasions and invaders and which has now, for the first time, the opportunity to welcome, in its midst, the highest representatives of twenty-seven countries — champions of peace.

I particularly wish to express to all of you our sincere gratitude for your personal efforts and your contribution which have made it possible to have this gathering organised and convened in such a brief period of time. Considering the tremendous responsibilities that every one of you, as a statesman, has in his own country, your presence here demonstrates most explicitly your concern and the concern of your peoples for the fate of mankind and your wish to exert concerted efforts in the existing grave international situation in order to find a way out of the crisis in which the world finds itself at present.

In a few days it will be exactly one year that a large number of Heads of State and Government of many countries assembled at the fifteenth session of the United Nations for the purpose of helping to ease, by their participation, the grave international situation and contribute to the maintenance of peace. At the said session the non-aligned countries displayed for the first time their firm determination to exert resolute efforts towards the peaceful and correct solution of international disputes, as well as their resolution not to allow anyone to play with the fate of

mankind in an irresponsible manner. No one deny the fact that this first concerted action of non-aligned countries was successful. In the first place, a tremendous moral success was achieved. However, today, one year later, we must, unfortunately, note that the situation is much worse, as the cold war has assumed proportion liable to lead to the greatest tragedy at any moment. Precisely because of this, it is necessary for the representatives of non-aligned countries to examine on the highest level, in a more detailed manner and in greater numbers, the dangerous international situation and to take, in this connection, co-ordinated action, primarily through the United Nations, in order to find a way out of the present situation and to prevent the outbreak of a new military conflict. The fact that this danger has reached its climax is clearly shown by all the preparations which are now being undertaken. Overt preparations for war are being made, mobilisation is taking place, the manufacture of the most up-to-date weapons being intensified, hydrogen and atomic weapons tests are again being contemplated, etc. Only recently we have witnessed an open military aggression against an independent state — Tunisia, where the unrestrained French soldatesque has not only shed much of the blood of the innocent civilian population of Bizerta, but is, at the same time, continuously threatening both the integrity and independence of Tunisia.

Never in the entire post-war period has it been so urgently necessary as today that states which are not aligned with any bloc should set forth with the greatest degree of unanimity, clearly and unequivocally, through their highest representatives, their



views on problems which are leading the whole world to the brink of the greatest catastrophe in its history. The idea that non-aligned countries should participate, in one way or another, more effectively in international developments, particularly in those which are of direct and vital interest to them, stems from the realisation of the fact that, in our time, the responsibility for the future of mankind cannot be borne only by a few states, irrespective of how large and powerful they may be.

The Bandung Conference and the principles proclaimed there were, after the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, the first powerful display of this contemporary view of international relations. It was no accident that these principles were proclaimed precisely in Asia, in the presence of the representatives of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the two continents inhabited by the largest number of people on our planet, who had been enslaved, deprived of rights and subject to discrimination through many centuries. The Casablanca Conference also reflected the determination of the peoples of Africa to decide themselves about their own fate and not to tolerate any longer the existence of any form of colonialism on African soil. In the same way as the Bandung Conference, and other similar conferences which followed, did not intend to establish any kind of bloc, the present Conference does not pursue any such aim either. On the contrary, this Conference should adopt a negative attitude towards bloc exclusiveness, which not only constitutes a threat to world peace, but also prevents other countries from participating as equal partners in the solving of outstanding international issues. The fact that discrimination of this against these countries is gradually diminishing is, to a large extent, the result of a greater measure of unity of action on the part of the non-aligned countries with regard to various problems which are endangering world peace.

As a result of the experience acquired in the postwar period, when groupings of individual states began to emerge, all the countries outside these groupings have become profoundly convinced that increasing tensions in the world have been, and are still, arising precisely from this division of the world. This conviction is also shared by the broadest masses of people, regardless of whether they are inside or outside the blocs, as they feel that the mechanism of the blocs is acquiring, to an increasing extent, its own pernicious logic. This division has demonstrated that outstanding international problems cannot be solved from a position of strength. Actually, constant efforts are being exerted for the purpose of achieving superiority, in order to attain specific goals from a position of strength that is to say, to solve outstanding questions in one's own favour. In this precisely lies the greatest danger of an outbreak of armed conflict and of a new catastrophe of the entire world. The recent past has shown clearly that the grouping of states into blocs usually leads to a settling of accounts by the force of arms. The history of recent years has also demonstrated that there need not even be two blocs, but that it is sufficient to have only one bloc for war to break out.

I think that it is well known how, in what order and for what purpose the existing military blocs were established and I do not intend to analyse this matter in greater detail here at the present moment. However, it is obvious that such a course was most unfortunate and has led to the present abnormal and perilous situation in the world. I feel, therefore, that it is high time to have this division removed, at least gradually, and to embark upon a new and fresh road of understanding and cooperation in international relations by means of peaceful negotiations. However, the best way of proceeding would be to settle outstanding issues through United Nations; and it is precisely for that purpose that the World Organisation was created.

Such a practice in international relations in keeping with our times has already been put into effect by countries non-aligned with any blocs. At this Conference also, attended by such a great number of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, new standards governing relations among states should fully prevail. On the agenda are problems of exceptional and major importance, problems that the great powers have failed to solve so far, precisely because they approached them in the old way. In this connection an obsolete and in the present phase, extremely dangerous conception of prestige is still playing a crucial role. Furthermore, there still prevails, as in the past, the practice that only the biggest, the most advanced and militarily the most powerful countries attempt to make decisions involving the fate of the world, while a large number of small and medium-sized countries, which are not developed for well known reasons but constitute the majority of mankind, have been unable, until recently, to participate as equal partners in the taking of decisions on questions of general interest. These countries were looked upon, and are even today considered, as a kind of reserve and voting machine in international forums, such as the United Nations and others. This gathering of the highest representatives of non-aligned countries illustrates, however, that such outdated practices must be discarded, that non-aligned countries can no longer reconcile themselves with the status of observers and voters and that, in their opinion, they have the right to participate in the solving of problems, particularly of those which endanger the peace and the fate of the world at the present moment. This meeting, has been convened, inter alia, for the purpose of asserting this right. The non-aligned countries do not, of course, pretend to be able to solve alone the problems that the Great Powers have not been able to solve so far; however, they can contribute much both towards this end and towards the easing of dangerous international tensions in general. The adoption at this meeting of clear and unequivocal positions on current problems of vital importance will make it easier for the great powers to approach more realistically the task of reaching agreement on outstanding issues and to pay greater attention to the views of the representatives of countries which are not aligned with blocs and whose strivings are shared by the majority of mankind.



Fears that this meeting might mark the beginning of the formation of a third bloc are groundless. Would it be logical for us, who are against the divisions of the world into blocs, to create a third bloc? Would this contribute towards the relaxation of tension in the world? Of course not. We cannot pursue such aims as they would run counter to the political concept of non-aligned countries. If we examine the actual substance of blocs, their characteristic features, we find that their first and most important feature is their military aspect, the creation of military power. An unrelenting arms race is being pursued in order to gain superiority. The economic arrangements within bloc frameworks have a discriminatory character in regard to other countries. Embargoes are imposed on various products with the aim of exercising pressure upon a given country or several countries. All this and many other characteristic features of blocs are in contradiction with general interests and views of non-aligned countries and, above, all, with the fact that these countries preclude the use of military force for the solution of any dispute. This will suffice to demonstrate that it is absurd to impute to this Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries the intention to set up a third bloc.

The purpose of this meeting is to make the great powers realize that the fate of the world cannot rest in their hands alone. It is to demonstrate to the protagonist of force that the majority of the world decisively rejects the use of force as a means for settling the various important problems we have inherited from the last war. I can state without exaggeration that the countries represented at this Conference, as well as many others which do not belong to any grouping, represent the great majority of world public opinion. They represent the conscience of mankind. Those who are contemplating war adventures must bear this in mind. Such an example was also provided by the Second World War. This war ended disastrously for the mightiest fascist states, which had made tyranny and force the guiding principle of their policy, and war a means for achieving their aims, that is, for imposing their domination upon the entire world — ignoring humane and other moral principles which are asserting themselves with increasing force in the present-day world. The political conceptions and aggressive ventures of the Axis powers aroused the entire peaceloving world, and this was bound to lead to the powerful and, at that time, the mightiest military machine. The moral of this story is very instructive and it should be borne in mind by those who are indulging in sabre-rattling and are holding the world in a state of constant tension and fear.

May I now draw your attention to a fallacy which makes its appearance from time to time, in the press and in commentaries in general, regarding the course that the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries will take: whether or not this course will be pro-western or pro-eastern. There is no ground for such speculations because we have not met here in order to support blocs, but to define clearly and coordinate our positions on the most

important problems which are besetting the world today. And then it will become clear where our stands differ and where they coincide with those of one or the other side. On all the most important issues we shall adopt positions which will be not only in the interest of non-aligned countries but will be, generally speaking, in the interest of peace and of the entire mankind. They will, in our submission, contribute to the lessening of dangers to peace and will show to world public opinion that there is a better way towards understanding than the threats of war. Similarly there is no ground for assuming that this or that country will be attacked here. It would be erroneous if we were to attack certain countries of voicing our resolute disagreement with the methods applied by some great powers towards other countries. Because, if we were to act in this way, we would not bring about a relaxation of tension in the world, but would, on the contrary, add to the tension. There is no doubt that we shall examine such problems as the question of colonialism in a consistent and serious manner; we shall pose this question in a clear form and insist on the final and early eradication of colonialism. The question of disarmament and use of atomic resources for military purposes, the problem of assistance to less developed countries and others should be examined here in the same manner.

I believe that we all agree that the success of the Conference depends precisely on our consensus of views regarding these major questions of paramount importance for the safeguarding of peace. There are also other issues of secondary importance. On some of them it is not easy to reach agreement and they could, if insisted upon, impair the success of Conference. I am referring in particular to disputes between some of the non-aligned countries. In my view we should for the solution of such questions have recourse to the method of bilateral negotiations, on the basis of peaceful understanding, a method which should be proper to non-aligned countries and which is in harmony with our principles.

This meeting does not necessarily require us to reach unanimity on all questions. But it would be extremely useful to reach unanimity on those problems which are at this moment of vital importance for all mankind — and I am convinced that the world is expecting this from us.

Therefore, in the present extremely tense international situation this Conference is the most competent forum, outside the United Nations, where the representatives of non-aligned countries can state, as simply and as strongly as possible, their views regarding the question as to what the relations among peoples and states should be like and as to how the solution of outstanding issues by peaceful means could and should be brought about without thereby impairing but rather promoting world peace and constructive cooperation among peoples.

Assembled here at this Conference, we are conscious that we are taking upon ourselves a great responsibility before the peace-loving world, which rightly hopes that we shall do everything in our power here in order to remove the danger which is hovering over mankind. The peoples of all the world are expecting



to hear a unanimous and resolute call against all that hampers the peaceful creative life of people on earth. People are already tired of the cold war, which is assuming ever sharper forms, and they fear the possible catastrophe which could be caused by a new world war. Therefore, I feel that we shall render a great service to the world, if we indicate clearly and resolutely the road towards a relaxation of world tensions and to the freedom, equality and peaceful cooperation of all nations.

*Ahmed Soekarno:*

## Independence, Peace and Freedom

A glance at the agenda of this Conference clearly shows that the basic problems besetting the present day world arise from the two radical processes in the history of mankind. Firstly, the process of liberation of the colonised people, and secondly, the process of emancipation of all nations from poverty and injustice. These two processes go hand in hand, they are inseparable. They are like Siamese twins. Try to separate them from each other and both will die.

I have already spoken at length about the process of liberation. Not a single person in this hall would dispute the fact that colonialism must be eradicated, completely, irrevocably, for our own sake, and for the sake of the whole world. There is no power on earth that can stem this tide of liberation.

We must demand the immediate cessation of the colonial wars now raging in Angola, Algeria and Tunisia. We must not rest a moment until we have stopped these wars, until we have halted this criminal bloodshed and terror, all perpetrated in order to preserve the old order.

We must demand that a time limit be imposed for the complete removal of all forms of colonial subjugation of one nation by the other. In the case of every single remaining colonial regime, that time limit must not exceed two years, and must, if possible be less than that.

As you know, we in Indonesia still have a colonial problem because one-fifth of the territory of our Republic is still occupied and dominated by the Dutch colonialists. It is the territory of West Irian. West Irian is an indivisible part of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia, and we demand that the authority of the Republic be established in that region forthwith...

The problem of emancipation lies at the source of many of the international issues which have been put on the agenda of our Conference. The problem of non-intervention and non-interference, the problem of peaceful co-existence, the problem of racial discrimination, yes, and even the problem of the structure of the United Nations; all these are problems which have been thrust onto the scene by the process of emancipation,

As a result of this process, new social and economic forces have emerged in the world. Socialist countries, based on Marxism have emerged. Independent countries big and small in Asia and Africa have emerged. And side by side with other independent countries, they are pressing for national construction and for laying a solid foundation to their nation-building, based on the requirements of our age...

What, then, is the way to solve burning present-day issues? Where the conflict of the old interest and the emerging forces has become very acute and explosive, we must as a first step accept the status quo. As a second step we must accept the principle of peaceful co-existence, not only in words but also in deeds. Concrete action must be taken to reduce feelings of hostility by urging the contending parties to initiate talks with the aim of beginning to understand each other. Do not befooled by the issues by standing stubbornly by previously adopted positions in order to "save face". The aim must be to find an acceptable solution around the negotiating table so as to save the world from extinction.

Let me issue a warning. Miscalculation of the facts as they stand — bluffing in order to see how far the other side will go, may bring us to the verge of disaster. The alternative to peaceful coexistence between the two blocs is war of unimaginable magnitude.

True, peaceful co-existence does not immediately restore the position to normalcy, it does not remove conflicts. But it does remove acute feelings of hostility, and that alone is a gain...

This is why we in Indonesia firmly believe that the ideological conflict is **not**, I repeat, **not** the main problem of our time. It is not a problem which affects the majority of mankind, such as poverty, disease, illiteracy and colonial bondage.

But, people may ask, if we adopt the principle of peaceful co-existence, will this mean preserving the status quo for ever? My reply is quite definitely: No! How can we expect to perpetuate the division of nations? How can we expect to prevent nations from evolving their own national concepts of life, based on their own brands of socialism, Marxism or capitalism? How can we prevent nations from replacing monarchies by republics, or the reverse, if they wish? No, peaceful co-existence cannot and should not perpetuate the status quo. It must allow every nation to develop as they see fit, unhampered by external pressures or interference.

Applied to Germany and West Berlin, these principles can, I am sure, reduce the acute tensions of today. Formalise or legalise existing conditions; remove all possibility of a spread of hostilities; accept the difference in social outlook; avoid every single act which might provoke greater mistrust and suspicion; withdraw all interference from outside; let the Germans themselves decide their future destiny. Let them initiate talks in a serious endeavour to reach understanding. Let them take initial steps, however small, towards the creation and strengthening of regular forms of contact — trade is an excellent example of this. After all, the Germans are wise enough to know that international conflict over Germany



would obliterate their entire national life, and rearmament will not save them from this fate.

Commonsense must prevail. Yes — and commonsense demands the recognition of the temporary *de facto* sovereignty of two Germanies as a big reality. Commonsense also demands that West Berlin should not become the playground of big power conflicts, or ideological conflict. The people of West Berlin should be left to themselves to conduct their lives without interference from outside. The people of West Berlin should have free access to the other parts of the world and the people of the world should also have free access to West Berlin. This I think, can be arranged through the recognition of both Germanies as the *de facto* position of two states. And if the Soviet Union chooses to conclude a peace-treaty with East Germany, let it be so.

To achieve this, the big powers must come to the negotiating table to end the present crisis, fully conscious of their responsibilities towards the world. The problem of Germany, a nation divided against itself, has too long been a threat to peace in Europe and the world. The non-aligned countries, by proposing principles for its solution such as I have outlined above, can make a major contribution towards preserving world peace at a time when it stands in great danger.

Now something about the united Nations. The rapid march of developments in the past few years — the establishment of new independent states, the role of non-alignment in international affairs, the growing desire for peaceful co-existence, the march of the revolution being waged by threequarters of mankind — are showing with increasing clarity that the structure of the United Nations need to be overhauled. The United Nations was set up in 1945. Who can deny that the political map of the world has radically altered since then? Who can deny that the composition of the big powers has altered? Who, for example, can deny that the People's Republic of China exercises authority over more than 100 million Chinese people?

The United Nations must not be allowed to become the instrument of any power bloc. We know from experience that the United Nations is not functioning properly today...

For all these reasons, I strongly urge that the United Nations structure requires re-organisation. This applies to the membership of the United Nations in general. This applies to the membership of the Security Council, as well as to the composition of the Secretariat and other United Nations bodies.

Another problem on our agenda is the question of disarmament. No-one here in this hall disagrees with the need for disarmament. Indeed, people the world over are more and more persistently demanding disarmament. They demand this because history has taught, time and again, that the armaments race leads to war. They demand this because re-armament is one of the most effective ways of subjugating other peoples, because re-armament is the road to imperialism. They demand this because disarmament will release tremendous resources for construction and for raising living standards throughout the world...

The re-armaments race is the result of fear and mistrust between the big powers. And likewise, the re-armaments race leads to greater fear and mistrust. Therefore we believe that the key to success in disarmament rests in first disarming mistrust, disarming fear, disarming men's suspicions of one another. The non-aligned countries must be given an active role in the task of finding a solution to this complicated problem.

We demand this, because the decision of "peace or war" should not be left to the big powers alone. No, the decision of "peace or war" should not be left mainly to the powers which possess nuclear weapons and missiles. The decision of "peace or war" is a matter which should be in the hands of all peoples in the world. This only is the surest way to peace...

*Gamal Abdel Nasser:*

## Coexistence — the only Alternative to War

I shall begin with the priority of problems and then pass on the way of facing them.

International tension between the blocs reflected by the cold war is an obvious outcome of the lack of sufficient faith in the necessity of peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence cannot be an armed truce, it is actually a creative and fruitful co-operation among all peoples and all social systems so that all may prove their efficiency in serving the free man, and make room for a common reaction capable of promoting the political, economic and social development of all nations.

As a result of the lack of faith in peaceful co-existence all the hopes for finding a solution to the problem of disarmament have not yet been realised. In fact, despite the efforts exerted on disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests, an increase in armaments is the prevailing tendency today, while the only progress disarmament has attained is no more than a series of long and tiring talks which have yielded nothing fruitful or dependable.

Another cause for deep regret is the fact that in this atmosphere filled with anxiety, the Government of the Soviet Union found itself in a position which, according to its point of view, leads it to the resumption of nuclear tests.

This decision shocked me just as it shocked world public opinion. Yet, whatever the motives of the Soviet Government that prompted this decision, the main thing in it, is its clear bearing on the deterioration of the dangerous international position.

It is painful that the armament race was not confined to the United States and the Soviet Union alone, but we actually found other countries such as France which persist in provoking world public opinion by holding nuclear tests in the homeland of peoples who



refuse to allow their land to be the field of such experiments.

In an atmosphere in which peace is coupled with terrible atomic equipment, a number of forces are attempting to take advantage of this situation, especially the colonial countries and reactionary elements, who are enemies of progress.

We have seen how France fights the people of Algeria with NATO weapons.

A few days ago cables reported that the bombs dropped on certain nationalist positions in Angola were of American manufacture.

What appears from the use of NATO weapons to fight the Algerian people and from the American bombs dropped on the people of Angola is this complete ignoring of all United Nations principles, under pressure of the policy of pacts as we have seen in the position adopted by the USA with regard to the aggression on Bizerta during discussion of the problem at the UN General Assembly.

Neo-colonialism emerged attempting to attain the same aims of exploitation as the old colonialism, using new methods which outwardly appear to be more in line with the spirit of the age.

In this domain military pacts are directed more against internal fronts of nations seeking to free themselves from their present conditions rather than against foreign aggression.

Likewise, subsidies, trade and the policy of the monopoly economic blocs have been used to serve as a front for the exploitation of the wealth of nations for the benefit of the exploiters. The colonial forces then undertook without hinder and divided peoples, wrecking their unity set up in their heart a base of aggression to be used in any given instance, which was our experience at the Suez. Also, some nations attempted to use these bases for complete infiltration. The Casablanca conference has clearly borne out this truth, condemnig Israel as a bridge of neocolonialism in Africa and of its ambitions.

Owing to this turbulence, especially in Africa, the policy of race discrimination increasingly strives at exploitation. Actually, the aspect under which this race discrimination reveals itself today is identical to that which is also expressed by colonialism. The injustices which are being done human being because of their colour are but a prelude to deprive them of their rights.

There is no doubt in our estimation that the day marking the end of colonialism will also mark the end of racial discrimination.

If I were to move on to an attempt to think of a solution in the lighth of our principles, I would find the following:

1. It is now essential that sabre-rattling be silenced, and opportunity be afforded for calm negotiations to be undertaken at the highest levels, for there is now no choice between two extremes, either negotiations or war. It appears to us essential that there should be a meeting of leaders at the earliest possible time.

We should not be discouraged by the fact that our attempt in New York was unable to bring about a summit conference at that time between the Ame-

rican President and the Soviet Premier though more than forty nations supported this proposal.

We must also recall that meeting held between Premier Nikita Khrushchev and president John Kennedy in Vienna last May was the realisation of this proposal. Nor must we be discouraged by the fact that the meeting held in the Austrian capital did not achieve the objectives hoped for. Under the conditions facing our world today none of us should despair, negotiations are essential and if they do not succeed we must try anew... Negotiations are the only safe way in such a clouded atmosphere. In fact negotiations are the only means to peace based on justice. Peace cannot be established on the basis of missiles with nuclear warheads.

However, it is our duty here to seek to bring about an atmosphere where such a meeting would be to our greater benefit and use.

Before we end our meetings we should have in hand a plan which can drive the negotiations between the two blocs to the domain of practical application.

Our urge for their meeting should not remain a mere appeal with the hope that it would reach their ears, but we must go beyond that and make sure that again we are not meeting just to address an appeal, but rather to enhance the chances of peace and lead them to a more confident and secure climate.

2. It is now imperative every effort be exerted to enable the United Nations to carry out its mission. With all the changes that have taken place in the world since the founding of this international body in 1945, it is essential that this organisation adapt itself to the present dynamic nature of the world.

In this connection the constructive changes should extend to the administrative machinery of the United Nations itself since it constitutes an instrument implementing its will.

The changes should also extend to the distribution of power in its various centres. I cannot imagine that certain parts of the world should remain without representation in the Security Council, nor can I imagine how a country like the Peoples Republic of China would remain outside the United Nations, while a quarter of the world's population lives within its borders.

The United Nations must then play the role aspired for by the nations which set it up and must become a sphere of work for peace and for progress.

It is regrettable to see this international organisation which represented the great hopes of humanity sometimes transformed into a field of conflict between the blocs, or that attempts are made to make of it a tool in the hands of colonialism. Matters reach such a point that the very resolution of this International Organisation, in certain circumstances have no more life than that permitted them by the policies of the major powers. There can be no greater evidence of this that the United Nations resolutions concerning the rights of the people of Palestine which, after so many years, have remained no more than scraps of paper, because the policy of certain major powers in our area wished to bolster Israel in defiance of every law and justice.



3) It is essential now to afford the greatest possible chance of progress to the nations which have not completed their economic and social development.

We must bear in mind that there can be no stability in a world where such scandalous differences as we see today exist between the standards of living of nations.

The world we live in today is one world; its fate whether in peace or war is one. We have all shared in the creation of Man's civilization throughout history; the centres of learning have moved from one continent to another.

Consequently, each of us has a share in the progress resulting from all human civilization. We have all contributed to the creation of the prosperity of those privileged today, and although I do not wish to arouse ancient rancours, industrial progress in very many countries in Europe for example has been established on the wealth systematically dredged from Asia and Africa.

We doubt the possibilities of hope for progress would increase if the mad rush towards rearmament particularly in the atomic field be stopped, and if the vast energies in this sphere be directed towards serving the realms of progress.

4) It is essential that the non-aligned states which have taken upon themselves the responsibility of working for peace, should continue with what they have started, backing their objectives with coordinated efforts for their realisation. This can be attained through constant cooperation and consultation as well as through coordinated efforts both within and outside the United Nations. It is not sufficient to begin, it is important to continue until we attain our goal, which is at the same time that of mankind throughout history and all over the world.

Our movement for peace must remain free and able. We must maintain it on the broadest possible fronts. Apart from continuous communications among us we should always encourage and offer our wholehearted support for all collective and constructive endeavours aiming at the consolidation of peace by means of preserving freedom and enhancing progress. We should also remain in constant touch with the two conflicting military camps, since non-alignment does not mean that we isolate ourselves from problems; it means that we should contribute positively to the consolidation of understanding and the opening of channels for the passage of ideas and thoughts across the deep chasms caused by crises.

*Ibrahim Abboud:*

## Africa a Neutral Zone

Colonialism in its various forms is one of the main causes of world unrest and anxiety which we live today, as it sharpens competition between the great powers. Being so it adds yet another new cause to those of the last century characterized by the drive for economic monopolies, strategic pursuits as well as

for settlement purposes. This competition being the cause for all wars, has always resulted in the perpetuation of grudges and the inheritance of grievances that will no doubt lead eventually to tension and war. Setting aside this competition colonialism also has the evil effect of barring colonized people from managing their own affairs themselves. This has naturally led to the detriment of their economic and social progress thereby rendering the world as it has always been into groups of the haves and have-nots... It is our duty, Mr. President, to consolidate our policy against colonialism which is a danger to international peace. It is also our duty to give support to all peoples in all corners of the world to get rid of this perilous evil as well as to aid newly independent states to overthrow all forms of colonialism by offering them the benefit of our experience...

We have discussed colonialism in its two forms as a second cause of the international tension in which we live today. There is yet a third cause which is no less important nor less instructive in its historical development: namely the disrespect for national sovereignty and interference in the internal affairs of other countries...

We do not lack, your Majesties, and Your Excellencies, modern example of interference and lack of respect for sovereignty. We have an example in the tragedy of the Congo...

Then there are the happenings in Tunisia, a member of the United Nations, which suffered a brutal infringement of its sovereignty, and the total occupation of part of its territory in spite of the fact that the Charter of the United Nations prohibits foreign intervention and aggression on territorial integrity... We appeal to all nations from this rostrum, to accept and apply this doctrine in the most extensive manner in order to put an end to all forms of interference be they physical or moral, old or new.

Amongst the evils of imperialist domination, which continued to be deep rooted in some minds, is racial discrimination...

The problems of armaments, Mr. President, have been multiplied by the atomic tests which have perturbed the African continent throughout last year...

We therefore propose, Mr. President, that the whole of the African continent should be a neutral zone void of all atomic armament and its experiments as well as being rid of the conventional armaments race with its military bases and other constituent elements. By this we mean to place Africa as an example of a neutral zone...

We consider, Mr. President, that working collectively within the United Nations, guided by our conscience and its Charter and rules, should be the basis of our policy of non-alignment. However, while we agree on the principle of working within the United Nations, its organizations, commissions and specialized agencies, we have to ponder a little considering meanwhile its cohesion along suitable lines with its new role, corresponding with the doubling of its membership and their geographical distribution...

If we want to infuse this international Organization with more dynamism, we have to develop it in a manner more becoming of the times, not only a



regards its forms and structure, but also as regards its effectiveness and aims.

The Afro-Asian Members have increased from twelve to forty six and yet we do not get a proportionate representation in the Economic and Social Council. It is therefore necessary that the increase of membership must be accompanied by an adjustment in the structure of the Organisation and its Commissions in order to have the world represented on an equitable geographical basis.

The Charter of the United Nations has to be revised in such a manner as to prohibit armaments completely, and to limit exploitation of some of the colonial powers to those articles in the Charter which describe the United Nations role in liberating the countries, as intervention in their internal affairs. The use of the Veto has to be strictly limited or at best abolished. All the powers and authority of the Organisation should be centred in its General Assembly; and the authority and terms of reference of the Specialised Agencies must be expanded.

The disparity in the economic and social fields which characterizes our world, and divides its peoples into rich and poor is one of the bases of unrest and long term anxiety permeating the present international relations...

The sharpness of this disparity has not been mitigated by the halfhearted efforts, tried here and there, in the post-war era in the form of bilateral international assistance, as such assistance has been based on political propaganda, and not on social and economic concepts. The under-developed countries have lost through dropping world prices of primary products, far more than they have ever gained from international assistance. Experts estimated that a drop of 5% in the prices of primary commodities in a certain year, equals all the assistance received by the under-developed countries in the past ten years...

The endeavours of the under-developed countries to liquidate the old economic forms which gave rise to the present day disparity in economic development, requires the co-operation of the rich countries with them in this great international effort. If these countries are really interested in co-operating with us, they must try on their part to change the basis of the old economic order...

It is needless to state, that under no circumstances shall we accept assistance from any country, which may be tinged with any conditions that will infringe on our sovereignty and independence, no matter whether these conditions are political or otherwise... We expect assistance to help us to come to rely eventually on ourselves, and not to awaken in us the instinct to fill in a temporary gap in our economy. We do not want it to become a permanent element, or take the place of our own initiative and efforts... These, Mr. President, Your Majesties and Your Excellencies, are the broad outlines of the understanding of non-alignment and the practical application of the philosophy of the Model International Society which will realize peaceful co-existence between all countries irrespective of the differences of their set ups...

*U Nu:*

## To End the Cold War

We meet here, Sir, because the world seems to be drifting into a situation fraught with the most dangerous consequences. Ever since the end of the Second World War, we have had a series of crises. In fact, crises come and go so frequently that we have almost resigned ourselves to living with them. But in recent months the temper of the cold war has taken a sharp turn for the worse. Big Power negotiations which seemed until the turn of the year to be promising, or at least not unhelpful, suddenly became stalled, and were replaced by the language of war...

Self-interest requires that we of the non-aligned countries should do all we can to avert such a conflict, and to remove the possibility of a clash by bringing about a lowering of the existing dangerously high tensions...

We are all believers in peaceful coexistence. We believe that Man must learn to co-exist, regardless of his differences, and that he must not be deterred or discouraged because of differences, because differences will exist as long as man last.

Since we have no option but to co-exist, we should be clear what we mean by co-existence. In my view, the situation we have today is closer to a state of war than to co-existence. In the past, nations resorted to war as the ultimate means of setting their differences. Today, they do not resort so readily to war. Instead, they live under the constant heavy threat of war. If they have not actually resorted to war, it is not through a change of heart, but merely because of the fear of mutual annihilation. The only difference between the present and earlier periods is that the powers hesitate to pull the trigger today because they know that that would mean the end not only of the enemy but also of themselves. Nevertheless, they are in a constant state of preparedness for instant war, their guns being trained at each other every second of every hour of every day. Their actions fall short of war only in that they have not — so far — pulled the trigger.

This is undoubtedly the most significant feature of the world in which we live. The knowledge that the trigger may be pulled at any moment, perhaps by design, but more likely by accident or miscalculation, means that mankind today lives under the perpetual threat of annihilation. This surely is an abnormal and extremely serious state of affairs. Here I would like to make a very earnest appeal to the two power blocs, and particularly to the leaders of these blocs, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. If I select these two powers in particular, it is because the ultimate decision as to peace and war rests with them. In the present situation, there can be no major war without their participation, and equally, there can be no genuine peace unless both of them will it...

While on the subject, Mr. Chairman, I would not be frank if I did not say that I was greatly concerned with the manner in which the latest Berlin crisis



has developed. The apparent readiness of both sides to "reach for their guns" suggests that the facts of nuclear warfare have not yet sunk in deep enough... True, this was accompanied by statements indicating willingness to negotiate. But the implication is that the two power blocs are prepared if necessary to risk a war over Berlin. If this is in fact the position, I can only comment that it represents a bankruptcy of common sense and reason. We believe that there is no problem in this world, however intractable, which cannot be solved by negotiation, and without loss of honour to either side...

The first pre-requisite for a sane and sober conduct of negotiations is the restoration of a calm atmosphere, free from frenzy or hysteria. Here the unaligned countries can play a significant role. I would very much hope, Mr. Chairman, that part of our deliberations is directed towards ways and means of bringing about this cooling-off process...

We believe that peaceful co-existence and a successful United Nations go hand in hand. Burma has therefore been, and continues to be, a staunch supporter of the United Nations. We believe that the ideals and principles of the United Nations represent mankind's best hope for the future.

This being so, we cannot help but deplore and express our concern with the attitude adopted towards the United Nations by some of the Great Powers, since it goes without saying that the United Nations would be no United Nations without the participation of the Great Powers. We are disturbed that one of the Great Powers, the United States of America, continues to use her great influence to prevent the 600 million people of China from being represented at the United Nations...

We are disturbed that another Great Power, France, has taken to treating the United Nations with contempt and spirit of boycott because that body has adopted decision which she finds displeasing. We deplore this imperious attitude, and call on France to abandon this policy because we are convinced that it is harmful both to her and to the world community.

We are also disturbed by the attitude adopted by the Soviet Union towards the United Nations because she finds herself in disagreement with some decisions taken by the world organization, as a consequence of which the Soviet Union has urged structural changes of a fundamental character in the United Nations which we honestly believe would seriously impair the value and effectiveness of the Organisation. We sincerely trust that the Soviet Union will not press this matter.

I do not advocate the retention of the status quo. We certainly agree that some changes are called for, since the membership of the World Organization has nearly doubled in the last fifteen years. The Security Council and the ECOSOC should certainly be expanded to permit of more equitable geographical distribution. In the United Nations Secretariat, too, we think that changes are required. But whatever changes are introduced, they should be in the direction of preserving and strengthening the independent, impartial role of the international civil service...

*Habib Bourguiba:*

## To Strengthen Solidarity of Non-Aligned Countries

**W**e believe that it is by examining our problem with courage and lucidity that we shall make our most effective contribution to the strengthening of peace.

Our most urgent problem, on which international security depends to a large extent, is decolonization...

For certain newly independent countries, the struggle has not ended with the proclamation of independence. Colonialism pretends to be giving in but persists in considering the independent country as a sphere of influence or its military preserve. Tunisia, which, by successive stages, has now reached the end of her struggle is firmly decided to liberate her soil from the last vestiges of foreign occupation. Strong in all means of struggle which she possesses by the very fact of independence, strong also in the support of all nations that love liberty, the Tunisian people will emerge victorious from its struggle against colonialism and in this way will hasten the liberation of its Algerian brothers, who have been carrying on a heroic fight for the last seven years. Everything goes to show that the Algerian war is the keystone of colonialism, which does not want to die. It is in Algeria that colonialism has revealed its true face, in which are combined excesses, contempt for the human personality and a cynical use of methods of aggression and repression. It is there also that colonialism has suffered its most serious defeats, alike on the moral and the political level; defeats which are shaking the very basis of the State, which is trying to maintain its hold on power.

It is there also that the criminal stupidity of men has affected the relations among peoples. The whole world is now witnessing one of the most tragic crises of our times, while the international organization has shown itself powerless to stop the bloodshed. We should take an unequivocal attitude to this problem, expressing the will of all peoples who are attached to liberty, to end once and for all a colonial war which shocks the whole of humanity...

This heroic struggle, which the colonized peoples have undertaken against colonialism, has often given them the chance of recreating their national unity, and of bringing to maturity in the heat of conflict that social revolution which ought to sweep away the true causes of the former decadence which, it must be admitted, was at the start of colonial domination. In its essence nationalism has been for all of us, former colonized peoples a fight for man's dignity in all its aspects...

The fight for man's dignity leads us directly to the principle of the free self-determination of peoples.

This fundamental law is not only the expression of the natural right of every organized human society; it is, above all, the principle in the light of which a certain number of problems that cause conflict are



friction between States can best be resolved. Its application under the aegis of the United Nations has made possible the settling of grave conflicts. It may serve as a basis for settling other conflicts still pending, which take the form of one and the same country and one and the same people being divided into two hostile parts. The non-aligned countries should ensure the sincere application of this right to self-determination wherever it can help to settle disputes or do away with artificial frontiers.

In this important sphere, the part we play will be in proportion to the moral authority which we shall have been able to obtain, thank to our sincerity and impartiality...

More and more frightful weapons, conventional as well as thermonuclear, are invented every day. A quarter of the resources of the Great Powers are devoted to military expenditure while hunger, ignorance and sickness still ravage three quarters of the human race. The accumulated potential of destruction is such that any conflagration could bring about the total destruction of humanity. It is not only our generation which is threatened, but the entire future of Mankind, i.e. the evolution of the human species is at stake.

In the face of this threat which no balance of power can dispel, our most urgent duty is to spare no effort to stop this race to the abyss.

This we can do thanks to our moral force and our solidarity within the United Nations. Is it not a fact that what restrains the atomic powers — France excepted — from new nuclear tests is world public opinion and the will to peace of the people? At the present time it is more than ever necessary for us to assert the determination of our peoples to oppose a united front to nuclear tests or the threat of the resumption of such experiments, whatever may be the source of these tests or of such a threat.

It is in this spirit that we express our opinion of the unexpected decision recently announced by a Great Power. This decision is liable to heighten international tension and increase the anxiety of the people. The same determination should animate us in our action to bring the two blocs, now obsessed by fear and suspicion of each other, to rid themselves of these suspicions and to start on the path to a general and total disarmament...

But disarmament alone cannot assure peace and security and promote international collaboration. It is also essential that the relations between all States, big or small, be based upon mutual respect; that divergencies in social and economic systems should not become a source of conflict; and that each State should organize itself as it needs, and be able to define its policies freely without fear of interference from other States.

Only in these conditions will it be possible to create a better world order which opens to Mankind immense perspectives of progress and happiness.

It is our firm belief that our international activities should take place within the United Nations where our influence can best be exerted. For this reason the re-organization of the United Nations, in the light of the needs of today, ought to play a considerable part in our work at this Conference. We

shall have made a decisive step forward in this direction if we succeed in the coming days in agreeing upon a plan of action with the next session of the United Nations...

*Sardar Mohammad Daud:*

## Problems Should Be Solved by Negotiations

Among the basic problems connected with the maintenance of peace, there are three matters which demand immediate attention. One is the question of Germany, the other disarmament and third, the elimination of colonialism in all its forms. These matters have directly threatened Peace...

It is evident that the issue of Germany has not been solved in the years following the Second World War. It is regrettable that various blocs of World Powers are insisting upon their own approach to this problem. Neutral countries may well take the initiative in this matter, seek out possibilities for its solution, offer their cooperation and assistance to the Great Powers, and call their attention to the critical nature of this world problem...

Such situation cannot be allowed to be handled with rigid stands based on policies of force and its solution cannot be expected except through peaceful negotiations and understanding between the Great Powers...

The neutral countries should consider ways and means to participate in negotiations concerning disarmament, with the agreement among the Great Powers. Neutral countries elected by the United Nations General Assembly could play an important part in the resolution of the disarmament question. Whenever a way is found to settle this issue, peaceful co-existence can be fully realized and its perpetuation can be rendered possible...

Next to the questions of disarmament and economic imbalances lies another issue which continues to trouble mankind, namely, Colonialism. It is not necessary here to point out that the right of Nations determine their own fate, as expressed in the United Nations Charter, and the Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenants on Human Rights must be observed. Nor is it deemed necessary here to point out to what extent colonialism and its remnants with their various manifestations, and racial discrimination stand in the way of the progress of Mankind in the present day. These facts are known to all of us and require no further explanation. Every freedom-loving Nation must be devoted to the eradication of these evils. It must be noted that although colonialism is being forced to withdraw, it still seeks through intrigue and deception, to retain its self-interests in other forms and shapes. During the development of colonialism the rights of Nations and peoples were usurped. Now that colonialism is ending, it is



of primary importance that the rights of these Nations and peoples be restituted. The restitution of the legitimate rights to the rightful people who have been deprived of their freedom, must be one of the principal goals of the dissolution of colonialism in all its forms...

In connexion with the liquidation of colonialism and for the self-determination of peoples, I am happy to see in our midst His Excellency Mr. Benkhedda, the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria, representing his freedom-loving people at this important gathering. From the very beginning, and on all international levels, the Government and the people of Afghanistan have expressed their full support for the fighters for Algerian independence, and have thus demonstrated their recognition of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria as the rightful representative of the Algerian people. It is with great pleasure, therefore that I announce our official recognition of this Government...

The Afghan Government believes that foreign military bases are, in general, a threat to the peace of the world. Especially so are those bases which have been forced on the soil of peoples against their wishes. For this reason we announced, at the outset, our full support of the Government of Tunisia in the question of the evacuation of the French naval and air bases at Bizerta. We hope that this evacuation, so desired by the people of Tunisia, will be soon effected.

Events in Angola, likewise, have aroused the anxieties of the peoples of the world. It is the basic desire of all freedom-loving nations that colonialism in Angola and other territories under domination which are struggling for independence be terminated. I wish to express our full support for the freedom-fighters of Angola.

Ever since the Preparatory Meeting in Cairo, events in the Congo have, fortunately, been favourable. We trust the future will bring opportunities for the further unification and development of this area. The mutual understanding and co-operation existing among the Congolese leaders, who are devoted to the true progress of their country, should be considered a source of joy to its friends.

Mr. President, the world is confronted with such important problems as the issue of Germany, disarmament, economic imbalances and inequalities, and colonialism. These problems should be solved in the interest of peace. It is only through the solution of these problems that Mankind can expect a better world in which it should live. The creativity and enterprise of non-aligned countries can greatly affect international affairs.

I wish to state that the Government of Afghanistan is participating in this Conference with an open mind, and will join in the various discussions with a spirit of complete co-operation. The success of this Assembly depends above all on mutual understanding. I have full confidence that the outcome of this Conference can and will serve the cause of humanity throughout the World.

*Emperor Haile Selassie:*

## To Preserve Peace and Improve Living Conditions

The major challenges confronting the world today are two: the preservation of peace and the betterment of the living conditions of that half of the world which is poor. These are, of course, mutually interdependent. Without peace, it is futile to talk of improving man's lot; and without such improvement, the task of guaranteeing peace is rendered many-fold more difficult. The assault on these two problems must be made simultaneously, and all of our actions should be taken with an eye to the solution of both...

To be neutral is to be impartial, impartial to judge actions and policies objectively, as we see them either contributing to or detracting from the resolution of the world's problems, the preservation of peace and the improvement of the general level of man's living conditions...

Analysed with an eye to military strength or to present-day wealth, we must recognise that the uncommitted nations cannot qualify as a power bloc and that our strength resides not in military might or in economic wealth, but, rather, in the cumulative moral influence which we can bring to bear on the peoples and problems of the world.

We should not, however, underestimate the extent of this strength, and realistically appraising its worth, we must seek ways of exploiting it for the good of mankind...

This leads us into the next matter of which we would like to speak to you: the supreme importance which we, and particularly the smaller nations among us, must continue to attach to the role played by the United Nations in the field of international relations. The United Nations, in the first instance, provides the forum wherein we, who claim the freedom and the position to speak frankly and openly against injustice, against desertion of principle, against the intimidation, the oppression, the subjugation of the weak by the powerful, can make our voices heard. We must be ever vigilant to assure that such an institution is preserved to us...

At the same time, we need not delude ourselves that the performance of the United Nations has been, at all times and on all questions, that which we might have wished. The United Nations is man-conceived and man-run, and hence, by its nature and by the nature of man, imperfect. We must be constantly alert to improve and perfect its machinery, to minimise the risk that in time of crisis it will fail us, to assure that its decisions are founded on principle and not on bias and prejudice...

We must, too, observe that the United Nations can scarcely fulfil the role envisaged for it by its founders so long as hundreds of millions of people remain unrepresented there. We refer now not merely to those whose independence is yet to be attained but, as well,



to those states, primary among which is the People's Republic of China, which have thus far been excluded from a seat in its councils...

We maintain that we need no longer search for or call upon foreign assistance. Speaking now only for Africa, We firmly assert that free Africans are now fully able and competent themselves to assume complete responsibility for ensuring the ultimate expulsion from this continent of the last colonial elements. We go farther: We claim, for Africa, the power and the ability to deal, without foreign interference, with such problems as may arise on this continent in the future, save for those few instances where Africans themselves may decide that the aid and assistance of the United Nations is required.

For above all else, we must ensure that the cold war shall not be imported into the African continent... We believe that on this score the conscience of the world has been awakened, and that the vast majority of men today recognise the truth of what we say. There are those, however, who raise their voices in alarm, warning us that this assistance is designed only to impose upon us another but equally insidious form of subjugation. With this We do not agree. We believe that it is possible for all of us to receive assistance from diverse sources without compromising that independence and impartiality which We have already declared should be the hallmark of the nations represented here.

Nonetheless, this fear exists, and when it is coupled with the fear that two assistance programmes carried on within the same area by competing power groupings will ultimately result in the importation into our countries of the very cold war from which we seek to disengage ourselves, a powerful and compelling argument for multilateral rather than bilateral assistance is made. Happily, there already exists, in the United Nations, the effective means for the channelling and administration of massive aid programmes free of these attendant dangers...

Disarmament must be achieved not only because in this fashion will the threat of a world holocaust be dispelled, but, equally, because only through a drastic reduction in the military budgets of the great powers can the vast resources required to raise all of mankind to the level of free men be used for these purposes...

When We speak of urgent problems, when We look to those regions most likely to emit the sparks whereby the conflagration of a general war threatening the destruction of us all may be ignited, Our gaze is inexorably drawn to Berlin, an unhappy city, a city split in twain, a city divided against itself and isolated from the rest of the German people by barriers far more compelling and restraining than mere barbed wire or barricades...

Where are we, the non-aligned states, to turn in seeking the solution to Berlin? The Four Powers have thus far proved themselves either unable, or incapable, or both, of arriving at an answer. But this problem concerns us all; can we long allow it to be the sole responsibility, the monopoly, of these four? Ethiopia supports the concept of a unified Germany.

Ethiopia supports the principle of free access to West Berlin. But if this is not enough, there is left to us only to ask, rather, to demand, that this question be brought before the United Nations for resolution by it...

*Dr. Kwame Nkrumah:*

## To Liquidate Colonialism by the End of 1962

I consider that this conference must formulate concrete and realistic proposals on disarmament and make serious representations to the two power blocs. This conference should urge the Great Powers to sign without further delay a treaty for general and complete disarmament. Since the Great Powers suspect each other so much and since inspection and control on the spot appears to me to be one of the most effective means of obtaining concrete results, the Great Powers should agree to a system of inspection and control where the inspection teams are only composed of certain members of the uncommitted and non-aligned nations. It would eliminate all suspicion, create confidence in the inspection method and help solve this crucial and vital issue. I consider also that the non-aligned nations should be represented at all future conferences on disarmament, that disarmament should be total and complete and that all discussion on disarmament should be held under the auspices of the United Nations...

Only last night, the Soviet Union exploded a nuclear device. This was a shock to me, as it must have been to you all. But it is a shock which forcibly brings home to us the supreme danger facing mankind, the imperative necessity for peace and the urgent need to sign a treaty for complete and general disarmament...

It is imperative therefore that this Conference should carry a firm and positive resolution calling on the great Powers to sign a peace treaty with Germany without further delay. On the German question let there be no hypocrisy. Everyone knows that there are two Germanies, created as a result of the last war. The circumstances which led to their creation continue to exist...

The nations of the world should therefore recognise the existence of these two States to enable them to co-exist peacefully. Such recognition, I am sure, would contribute tremendously to the preservation of peace.

It is not for us, of course, to advise on the question of German unification, but one could say with some frankness that the solution of this problem, if the Germans themselves are to achieve it without outside interference, must be isolated completely from the cold war. In other words, West Germany must withdraw from NATO and East Germany must withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. It is only then that the Germans themselves will be able to face the



critical issues, whether by referendum or otherwise. The other aspect of the German question, that is to say the issue of West Berlin, ought to present no difficulty at all. West Berlin, as it were, is a sort of island in the East German State. Access to it has been guaranteed over and over again by those who have authority to give such a guarantee. Other Western rights regarding West Berlin have also been emphatically guaranteed. What then is the meaning of these alarms over West Berlin? Must we, or rather must the world, be destroyed over this issue for which a real, ready solution could be found? I am sure that a little good will on both sides and a coming together round the table for peaceful negotiation would be sufficient to clear the war clouds now hanging thick over Europe and the world, and would enable the statesmen of the two power blocs to see the problem more realistically.

The frontiers of Germany as they stand today have existed for the past sixteen years. Any attempt to change these frontiers will lead to unnecessary provocation and is bound to lead to world conflict. The Oder-Neisse frontier which emerged from the last war should therefore be respected.

From this rostrum I make a strong appeal to my two friends, President Kennedy and Premier Nikita Khrushchev, the two men on whom more than on anyone else the fate of the world and mankind depends, to agree to meet again soon, somewhere, to talk about this problem. My Government is prepared to put Accra at their disposal for such a meeting.

Colonialism is fighting its last battle in Africa today. We speak with deep feeling because we have recent experience of the oppression and degradation which colonialism entails. It is distressing that in this age of enlightenment there should be foreign powers which still regard any territory in Africa as an extension of their own national boundaries, and which refuse to reconcile themselves to the inevitable march of history. It is indeed surprising that nations which regard themselves as civilised should acclaim the unfortunate survival of this pernicious system as a civilising and useful mission...

I have stressed over and over again that colonialism is a fundamental cause of war, because it is an iniquitous system which generates intense hate and produces conflict between nation and nation. For not only is there conflict between the colonisers themselves, because in their eagerness to exploit the resources of the colonies they are driven into the rival camps of the "haves" and "have nots", and this becomes a constant source of threat to the peace of the world...

I now turn to the United Nations. My Government and my people have placed their complete faith in this world organisation, for it is our belief that it is the best forum where the many problems of the world, problems of war and peace, can be satisfactorily resolved...

For my part, however, I seriously consider that the administrative structure of the United Nations in its present form is outmoded and does not reflect the true position and conditions of the world...

Gentlemen, let me repeat here the proposal which I have advanced already in respect of the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations, since we feel that the tragic experiences of the Congo should not be repeated. At that time I said that there should be a subordinate layer of three Deputy Secretaries General, one from the eastern camp, one from the western camp and the other from the uncommitted, non-aligned camp. This reflects the broad stream of political thought of today...

In addition to the Secretary-General I propose that there should be set up an executive body elected by the General Assembly whose duty it would be to ensure that the decisions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council would be faithfully and promptly implemented by the Secretariat...

I invite this Conference to consider these proposals. One cannot speak of the present structure of the United Nations without raising the anomaly of China's exclusion from this important world forum...

We must do everything we can to ensure that the delegation of the People's Republic of China is recognised as the only legal delegation and seated accordingly at the forthcoming Session of the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, I now wish to re-state the various proposals I have made for the serious consideration of Conference:

Firstly, we must stand for general and complete disarmament.

Secondly, the existence of two German states must be accepted and recognised.

Thirdly, we must call upon the great powers to ensure that a Peace Treaty is signed with Germany without further delay.

Fourthly, we must work for the complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations by the 31st December, 1962.

Fifthly, this Conference should resolve that three Deputies should be appointed for the Secretary-General of the United Nations — one to represent the eastern camp, one to represent the western camp and one to be chosen from the uncommitted, non-aligned countries.

Sixthly, we must support the admission of the People's Republic of China at the forthcoming Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Seventhly, Africa must be declared a nuclear-free zone...

*Jawaharlal Nehru:*

## The Problem of War or Peace in the First Place

We call ourselves a conference of non-aligned countries. Now, the word non-aligned may be differently interpreted but basically it was used, and coined almost, with the meaning non-aligned with the great power blocs of the world. Nonaligned has a negative meaning, but if you give it a positive conno-



tation it means nations which object to this lining-up for war purposes — military blocs, military alliances and the like. Therefore we keep away from this and we want to throw our weight, such as it is, in favour of peace. In effect, therefore, when there is a crisis involving the possibility of war the very fact that we are unaligned should stir us to action, should stir us to thought, should stir us to feel that now more than ever it is up to us to do whatever we can to prevent such a calamity coming down upon us. So from every point of view and from the point of view of our inception and being as modern nations this problem is dominantly before us...

I therefore submit that we must look at things in the proper perspective today. First things must come first, and nothing is more important or has more priority than this world situation of war and peace. Everything else, however vital to us — and other things are vital to us — has a secondary place. If, in this crisis, something we do, some action of ours or some words of ours, helps to some extent to resolve the problem, to remove the fear of war, then we have justified ourselves and strengthened ourselves in order to meet all the other problems that face us. On the other hand, if we cannot face this matter straightforwardly and clearly in our own minds then somehow we fail mankind in this crisis, we give no lead...

Presumably if war comes the countries represented here will not rush into the war; they will remain apart. But what good will it do them to remain apart when they will suffer from it, and when the whole world will suffer?

Therefore, we have arrived at the position today where there is no choice. Well, to say there is no choice between war and peace sounds rather fatuous.

I put it this way: there is no choice left between an attempt, between negotiations for peace or war. If people refuse to negotiate they must inevitably go to war. There is no choice. They must negotiate, and I am amazed and surprised that rigid, proud attitudes are taken up by great countries, all being too high and mighty to negotiate for peace. I submit with all humility to them and to others that this is not a right attitude, because it is not their pride that is involved in it but the future of the human race.

I cannot — and I rather doubt if even this assembly can — go into these matters and suggest, "you must negotiate on these lines" or "you must come to terms on these lines". I do not think that is possible for us, or suitable...

I believe firmly that the only possible way ultimately to solve these problems, or many of them, is by complete disarmament. Yet it would be absurd for me to say, "In the next week or month, decide on complete disarmament" because it is not a practicable proposition. Today the situation is such that their fears from each other are leading them towards greater armaments all the time, whether you look at one side or the other. Therefore, although I consider disarmament an absolute necessity for the peace of the world in the future — I think that without disarmament these difficulties, fears and conflicts will continue — nevertheless one cannot expect suddenly,

because this Conference wants it, disarmament to appear on the scene in full panoply. We should lay stress on disarmament, of course, but for the present moment the only thing that we can do is to lay stress on the fact of negotiations with a view to getting over these present fears and dangers.

If that is done, the next and third step follows and may be taken.

I would venture to say that is not for us even to lay down what should be done in regard to Germany or Berlin, which are the immediate causes of this present tension. There are some things that seem to me obvious. For instance — and others have referred to it too — it seems to me obvious that certain facts of life should be recognized. The facts of life are, first, that there are two independent entities, powers, countries: the Government of Western Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany) and the Government of Eastern Germany (the German Democratic People's Republic). That is a fact of life: it is not a matter of my or anyone else's liking or disliking it; it is a fact that has to be recognized. If you ignore the facts of life and the facts of contemporary politics that means that you are ignoring something which will lead you to wrong results.

The second thing (I am expressing my own opinion for the moment) is that as things are we find this great city of Berlin divided by what might be called an international frontier. It is a very awkward situation, but there it is. But anyhow West Berlin is very closely allied to Western Germany, to the Western countries, and they have had these routes of access to them, and I am glad that Mr. Khrushchev himself has indicated that that access will not be limited; it will be open to them as it is now. Now if that is made perfectly clear and guaranteed by all concerned I should imagine that one of the major fears and major causes of conflict will be removed.

I am merely putting this forward to indicate how some of the big things that are troubling people are capable of solution without solving the entire problem. If some things are understood and agreed to definitely, immediately, the fear of war in the near future disappears. Other things can be considered later. So I venture to say that the most important thing for the world today is for these great Powers directly concerned to meet together and negotiate with the will to peace, and not to stand too much on their respective prestige; and I think that if this Conference throws its weight on that, as I am sure it must be prepared to do, it will be a positive step which we take to help...

Now, I do not want the United Nations to function as the League of Nations did, I do not think it will, but I merely mention this. What can the United Nations do? The whole framework of the United Nations, ever since it was formed fifteen years ago, was the recognition of the balance of power in the world. That is why they had certain permanent members in the Security Council vetoing, etc. — all that business. Now of course the world has changed since then, considerably, and there are many more members and this requires a change in the structure, etc., of the United Nations. That is true. Nevertheless the United



Nations cannot easily ignore the balance of power in the world. It has to keep that in view. Anyhow, the point is that it is the duty of the United Nations to consider this matter and try its utmost to solve it.

Now, Sir, may I add here that this danger of war comes nearer and nearer, has been enhanced and has become nearer to us, perhaps, by the recent decision of the Soviet Government to start nuclear tests. Now I am not in a position, and I suppose no one else here is in a position, to know all the facts which underlie these decisions — all the military considerations, political, non-political considerations, whatever they may be — but one thing I know: that this decision makes the situation much more dangerous. That is obvious to me; therefore I regret it deeply because it may well lead to other countries also starting this and then, apart from the danger inherent in nuclear tests — that is radioactive substances falling and all that — all this brings us to the very verge and precipice of war.

That is why I deeply regret it, and because of all this it has become even more urgent that this process of negotiation should begin without any delay, without thinking of who is going to ask whom first. The person who asks first will deserve credit; not the person who shrinks from asking others...

*Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado:*

## To Enforce the Struggle against Neo-Colonialism

Representatives of the countries which are not aligned or committed to any military blocs are gathered in Belgrade. This means that the countries which pursue an independent foreign policy and have no obligations towards those who establish military alliances due to the conflict between the Great Powers are now represented in Belgrade. But this does not mean that they have no obligations at all. They have the obligations laid on them by their own principles. We, who have come to Belgrade to represent our peace-loving peoples who are fighting for the strengthening of their sovereignty and for their national development, are obliged to respect these aspirations, and not to betray them. Cuba declares its intention to abide by these obligations, and believes that all who have gathered here are inspired by the same intentions.

It must not be forgotten that this Conference is taking place at a time when concrete steps have been made for the promotion of peace, in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and for the development of the backward regions. It would not have been possible to convene this gathering if it had not been preceded by other historical meetings, such as the conferences held in Bandung, Cairo, Accra, Tunis, Leopoldville and Casablanca, precedents without which it might not have been possible to arrange this Conference. Neither must it be forgotten that, in

spite of all these efforts; despite the appearance of new independent states, of strong liberation movements, and the fact that many countries have been admitted to the United Nations, and in spite of the awakened conscience which is leading to the freeing of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the serious dangers accompanying the elimination of age-old evil are causing anxiety among our peoples and befogging the prospects of mankind.

The danger of a new thermonuclear war has increased; negotiations on disarmament have not progressed; in Asia and Africa not only is the process of the liquidation of colonialism being hampered, but new methods of exploitation of nations through neo-colonialist economic, political and military penetration are being advanced.

Our Conference should raise its voice against these developments: against exploitation, colonial domination and aggression. But it is of primary importance to decide in advance how to do this. The problems of peace, disarmament, peaceful coexistence, colonialism and neo-colonialism, economic development and independence of nations, are not abstract problems. These problems cannot be solved by adopting declarations on general principles, which many are prepared to sign but only a few to carry out. Each of these problems has its name and its definite expression. Cuba calls on all the countries represented here to pass from general definitions to the discussion of concrete problems...

Let us ask whether the colonial and imperialist countries are adhering to the decision of the World Organisation, and whether their attitude is sincere? This Conference should declare that they have not adopted such an attitude, that they are far from respecting this decision; and that betrayal and aggression are being used to enable colonial exploitation to survive and create new forms of imperialist domination. Despite the declarations of the United Nations and the specific resolutions passed in connection with Algeria, attempts are being made to suppress the wish of the Algerian people to gain their liberty. France is quite shamelessly waging an imperialist war. This is why I ask: how can we fulfil the obligations laid on us by our principles, which I mentioned at the beginning of my speech, if this gathering fails to condemn French colonialism once more, and pass a resolution demanding an independent future for the heroic Algerian people?

How can we speak of the right to self-determination and respect of the sovereignty and integrity of states if we fail to condemn the genocide which is being committed by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola? How can we condemn colonialism and neo-colonialism if we fail to condemn, at the same time and in a concrete manner, the crimes in Algeria, Angola, Mosambique, Congo, Laos and Tunisia?

Can we forget to voice our views on the need to accelerate negotiations on Laos, so as to create a neutral and independent Laos, without foreign interference? And is it possible to overlook aggression against the integrity of a country, such as the aggression against West Irian? Can we even fail to demand the withdrawal of British forces from Kuwait?



How can we proclaim the sacred principles of the right to self-determination of nations and independence and the integrity of states if we fail to consider here the imperialist action of the American Government against the struggle for the national liberation of the people of Cuba, whom I represent? How can we proclaim these principles without condemning the bombing of Cuban cities and the invasion of Cuba by forces equipped, financed, organized and led by the imperialist American Government?

How is it possible to emphasize the need for peaceful coexistence among nations, irrespective of their social or political systems, if we fail to emphasize that this principle applies not to the big powers only, but to small countries on all continents, as well?

It is necessary to consider all these concrete situations, in order to ensure the success of our Conference.

*Saeb Salam:*

## Instead of Two Divided — One United World

The Lebanon which staunchly maintains this aspect of its foreign policy is both happy and proud to participate in this important conference, alongside this honourable company of representatives of free peoples, and to make its own humble contribution in a historic work which seeks to remove the nightmare of fear from mankind, and restore the mission of peace and security to a world beset by confusion and doubt...

The nations which do not revolve within the orbits of the contesting blocs not only have a vastly important part to play, they have the ability to exercise a right which can be described as no less than the right of hundreds of millions of human beings to life, a life that is honourable and prosperous. I do not think that I traverse the bounds of truth if I say that we, who are meeting here, can best express the concern and confusion besetting mankind faced with the serious dangers around it, and can express the determination to withdraw from the fiery circle around, and reap the fruit of the struggle of generations past by establishing firm foundations for a future both peaceful and secure.

As we enjoy this right, which free nations are proud to enjoy without selfishness or prejudice, we are but taking upon ourselves duties and responsibilities the most important of which is to oppose all temptation and to resist being attracted to any of the poles disputing the world, as well as the responsibility of ensuring that we show nothing, either directly or indirectly, which would help one of these poles in its attempt at domination, and open up any save the means towards greater cooperation amity and peace. Our major and most important task is to

try to rid the atmosphere of wariness and suspicion between nations, and remove from over their heads the Damocles sword of perpetual menace, restoring the lost confidence in the ability to live together on this planet the importance of which is daily diminishing with the increasing knowledge gained of outer space. We must inculcate, instead of the paths followed by the two blocs and all that lies between, a new path which at its extreme meets with Knowledge to build one united, stable world instead of two...

It is true, gentlemen, that Imperialism is breathing its last, now that, over the last twenty years, many nations have been liberated from it. Yet how many millions more human beings are still suffering under its sway, and how many exposed to its attempts to return?

Has not time come to implement, practically, the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its last session, urging colonialist powers to liquidate imperialism entirely and open the way to all peoples to live the lives they aspire to?

Can we, in this sphere not raise our voices on high in support of a people who for years have been fighting like heroes for self determination, and who has found in each and every one of you a champion, namely our brothers the Algerian people? The Algerian case is a shining example of the glorious fight people undertake for their freedom, and which must very soon with your assistance result in the Algerian aim for independence and territorial unity...

The eradication of imperialism in all its aspects means the inevitable liquidation of one of the causes of world tension. Yet there are other causes no less deep-rooted or far reaching: primarily the contest over power, influence and benefits which split the major powers and their followers into two opposing factions, immediately following the setting up of the United Nations, and the replacement of the principle of collective security by a policy of pacts and balance, seemingly forgetting that it was this very policy which had left the world to inherit the holocausts of two world wars, and if continued, must inevitably lead to a third world war which will leave behind nothing...

Now, after the drawing up of the United Nations Charter, that so many newly independent nations have joined the United Nations, including many non-aligned countries, it is a duty to examine carefully the organization and methods of the United Nations, to open up the way for all member states, large or small, whether with widespread or limited material resources, to contribute fully to the activities of this world body, taking part in its councils and agencies in proportion to their populations and geographical locations.

Yet I do most sincerely ask: Are minds still ready for such studies, or have the sparks caught hold and the world now standing at the brink of so fearful a slope, that the problem now centres on preventing the catastrophe and seeking immediately to solve the knotty Berlin crisis, and halt nuclear tests, opening up the way to solve the German problem, the disarmament issue and all other menacing questions?



Would it not strengthen this common denominator — create it anew in certain cases — were the newly emergent states to cooperate with the economically under-developed nations in a spirit free of the desire to dominate, seeking no exploitation of the weak, or imposition of conditions detracting from their rights or sovereignty, thus creating a new wave of confidence and mutual respect between nations?...

We hope that these free peoples so desirous of security and peace are not mistaken if they expect that this conference may infuse a new spirit into international relations, which will awaken consciences, release tensions, and liberate mankind from the tortures of anxiety and the darkness of death to the light of stability, guiding all towards greater cooperation and the realisation of a richer destiny.

*Sheikh Ibrahim Sowayel:*

## To Find New Methods of Solving Problems

Saudi Arabia has been motivated to participate in this meeting by its unswerving faith that one of the prime results of this study will be clearly apparent efficacies in leading the peoples towards a world free of designs. It is our view that the importance of this meeting depends on the steps it takes forward towards its primary goal. We realise that the main cause of the current disagreement unfortunately existing between the disputing parties, is but a desire for greater control and increased influence. We are forced to take into account, Mr. Chairman, the events around us which have been created by avarice and nourished by psychological factors in an attempt to bring about these designs. These designs and their psychological elements have without doubt created an atmosphere of tension which must be dealt with. The experiences that we have gone and are still going through, have proved that the parties concerned are making an effort to reach a solution. They may succeed sometimes, and fail in others, which undoubtedly indicates that the situation needs the development of a new kind of assistance to find solutions. These in turn must be free of all intent and psychological motive to be able to express a calm steady view aiming at practical results on which can be founded for humanity, a future enabling mankind to enjoy what life and civilization has to offer in the various fields. I believe Mr. Chairman that this new form of aiding towards solutions must be the outcome of our meeting here. We have adopted non-alignment as a principle to be followed. Non-alignment means that our souls must be innocent of any bias towards any bloc in a dispute. Freed of any bias, our feelings can examine problems freely and can seek out flexible solutions which show no tendency towards provocation, but aim at conviction by evidence resulting from full comprehension of the problem...

As for Algeria, the blood it has shed is the clearest evidence of the iniquity and tyranny it is suffering. An intruding power seeks to impose itself on a struggling people, who know as the whole world knows, that they have the right to live a free life in accordance with the laws of nature. The fighting people of Algeria need no further proof of this right for their struggles and martyrs over the past seven years are the clearest evidence of that right. They have sent you messages of appeal written in letters of the blood of its sons. It is up to you to respond to the voice of right...

The removal of the causes of fear and terror which lie behind the armaments race and nuclear tests, must be one of the most important aim of this meeting; the parties concerned must be persuaded of the essential need to disarm and halt nuclear tests.

One of the human problems which still exists in our civilised world is that of racial discrimination which constitutes one of the worst forms of tyranny practiced by one human against another, without regard for human values or international law or the right of a citizen to protection and an honourable life. All the Faiths have called for fraternity, equality and amity, while the development of human history depends in all its motive forces on the recognition of the right of peoples and individuals to an honourable human life.

I believe that we must bolster the efforts being made by the United Nations Organisation to preserve international peace and security...

If we take into consideration the fact that the path to be followed by the emergent nations will influence international world policy, and international economics, then it is evident that these countries if they are unable to find a new way or a new direction, may ultimately gravitate towards one of the two blocs. This means alignment towards either East or West. Should this prediction prove correct, then we would do better to keep a vigilant and attentive eye towards preventing this new group of nations from falling under the control of either the East or the West...

*Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva:*

## Economic Inequality Main Cause of Crises

Nepal is firmly on the side of the forces of the Revolution. We believe that Colonialism is an unmixed evil, a social and political order, involving such relationships between man and man as are not acceptable. The anti-colonial Revolution wherever it takes place and in whatever form, must be supported and Nepal has always taken this uncompromising stand on this question. If the Colonial Powers say that we do not appreciate their intentions and



understand their problems, we reply to them that they do not understand our feelings.

While taking this uncompromising stand against Colonialism we do recognize that some Colonial Powers have acted with more grace and with greater statesmanship and imagination in reacting to the challenge of the time than others...

A Colonial Power like the United Kingdom, having grasped the fact that the days of Colonialism are numbered, has acted on the whole in such a manner as to get the approbation of many countries. Having taken a lead in enslaving large masses of people she has also taken a lead in freeing them.

But it may be observed at this stage that we will be misled — and misled utterly — if we believe on this ground that the anticolonial struggle is all over. On the other hand, we should still be ready and prepared for a hard and protracted struggle before the liquidation of Colonialism is complete. In Algeria, a bitter fight has gone on — relentlessly and without a break for more than seven years against French Colonialism. If the French record in Algeria belies her own great liberal tradition, the Algerian record has been simply inspiring. The people of Nepal have regarded the courage and bravery of the great Algerian people with unbounded admiration and respect. We are particularly happy that the representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government have come here to participate in this Conference. Portuguese Colonialism, as is well known, has caused unspeakable agony to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. In Kenya the people are still waiting to be free.

It is in Africa again that some disturbing signs of Neo-Colonialism are visible. The recent events in Bizerta go to prove that Colonialism dies hard, and that it needs a costly fight to remove even the last remnants of Colonialism. Again, had it not been for the Neo-Colonial design of Belgium the Congo would have been quiet long ago. Both in the Congo and in the United Nations all attempts directed towards the solution of the Congolese problem failed in the past not because some have supported one fraction and others another but because Belgium has definite, Neo-Colonial ambitions in the uranium rich Congo.

Neo-Colonialism aims at economic domination of former colonies and is an even subtler form of exploitation in many ways. Nepal has made it clear in the United Nations and outside that she is opposed to all forms of domination over any country by any other. The anti-colonial movement is a part of the wider movement for peace. Another factor that is equally important for peace and security is disarmament, a drastic reduction of all arms. The importance of disarmament can not be too strongly emphasized... In the first place, the ever mounting piles of armaments that are being made and stocked by the rival power blocs are a constant source of danger because, if history is any guide, the armaments that have been piled up have always been used. Therefore, armament increases a sense of insecurity. Secondly, the armament race is extremely expensive and consumes resources that could be used for raising the living

standard of the people. A low living standard generates tension within the community.

Finally the basic source of tension among nations, in our opinion, is not ideology, but economic disparity between individuals and nations, and the basic cure is not armament but economic development. The armament, therefore, creates a kind of vicious circle in so far as it withdraws a large part of resources that could be used for economic development. And this has the effect of retarding economic development and perpetuating the basic source of tension... We are no experts on the question of disarmament and believe that it is a matter which should essentially be settled between the two parties directly involved. It is for this reason that we have always supported any step that is likely, in our view, to bring the two parties together. Our representative in the United Nations worked in this spirit when he participated in the Disarmament Commission. My Government held the same view when supporting the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee and had expected much more from that Committee than what it actually achieved.

The course of disarmament negotiations has been far from smooth, and there has been a wide range of ebb and flow in our expectations. The course of negotiations on the ban of the nuclear tests has been equally tenuous, though more progress has been made in this field than in the other field. We believe the Conference must make it clear that the non-aligned countries are unitedly in favour of complete banning of nuclear tests...

The principle of peaceful co-existence the belief in which is the common factor among all of us present here, is a principle which has grown out of the recognition of the reality of the international situation. It is for this reason that peaceful co-existence is being accepted by an ever increasing number of States in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America. The principle of peaceful co-existence when used negatively in the sense of military non-involvement becomes one of non-alignment. The belief in the policy of non-alignment implies, in our opinion, the rejection of the theory that the challenge of the modern world is a military challenge.

The Western countries have achieved their economic emancipation within a certain political and social system and the Soviet Union has achieved hers in a different political system. They achieved their difficult targets at great sacrifice and after sustained hard work. But the problem collectively facing the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America today is far more difficult and demands greater sacrifice and harder work. The exacting nature of the problem, the drastic character of the disease, requires a drastic remedy...

The best form of co-operation is of course economic co-operation and a substantial measure of economic co-operation is possible even among the non-aligned countries. In the political field also co-operation has always been found possible and in our opinion the Conference could help to make the political co-operation even more purposeful and effective especially in the United Nations...



One of the matters likely to engage the attention of non-aligned countries for some time is the question of the structure of the United Nations. It is generally believed that the structure as provided for in the Charter does not reflect the present political reality in Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe; and the Secretariat too, as at present constituted, is weighted far too much in favour of Western Europe and North America. The interesting suggestion made by the Soviet Union that the office of the Secretary-General be replaced by a triumvirate composed of representatives of Western Powers, Communist Powers and Neutral countries seems to us clearly unworkable and the solution of this question will have to be found perhaps in a fairer representation of the countries.

Another difficulty in the United Nations is on the question of proper representation of China. It has been our view that by refusing to accept China in the United Nations the World Organisation has lost much of its effectiveness...

Nepal regards the United Nations as the guardian of the freedom of the small nations and would like it to grow in such a manner as would inspire the confidence of such nations. This Conference could in our opinion give a lead in this direction...

*Dr. Hashim Jawad:*

## Germany Should Be Neutralized

At the present juncture in human history, peaceful co-existence is an objective necessity for the survival of civilisation and for the development of the human society based on the following considerations:

Renunciation of the war and related methods of violence as a means for settling international disputes and differences, and the solution thereof by negotiation;

Non-intervention in the internal affairs of others;

Recognition of the right of all peoples to freedom and independence and self-determination, and to the settlement of their own problems by themselves;

Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states (countries);

Promotion of conditions which favour the growth of mutual trust and confidence between people;

Promotion of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interests.

Promotion of an international machinery for the coordination of all efforts for peace and the development of the basic cooperation between nations.

For the first time in our modern history all states, big and small, recognise the validity and the absolute necessity of observing these principles, in their relations, that is, the world has come to realise that the essential cause of the present conflict lies in the non-observance of these principles. It is therefore

imperative to diagnose the present international situation in order to detect the main factors leading to the violation of these principles, that is, the obstacles in the way of peaceful coexistence. We cannot pass in silence over the Berlin situation which constitutes now a major threat to world peace. The world is seeking a solution. A solution of the Berlin question cannot be sought except within the framework born out of World War II, and cannot be realistic unless it is formulated in the context of the whole German problem. The division of Germany into West and East is now a reality, with two different political and economic systems, each of which has its position within the two bloc system. In the interest of diminishing tension, and in order to avoid future harder conflicts it is imperative to recognize the actual situation, and to make both parts of a neutral area of the world. In this way the German people will be able to contribute to the cause of peace...

At present a realistic peace policy of co-existence depends fundamentally on the ability of the world, first to find the means for achieving a general and complete disarmament under international control; and secondly, to expedite the process of terminating colonialism in a peaceful way. Complete disarmament and the termination of the colonial system are the twin interrelated world problems, and the policy of peaceful co-existence depends upon a simultaneous attack on both.

The question of total disarmament is the cornerstone for the solution of a number of other international problems; a fact which the world has come to understand only too clearly. No comment on the question would add much of great value; it nevertheless remains the problem par excellence of the present period in history, and the starting point for the solution of others. This is because disarmament is not an isolated problem; it is a component part of the sum total of the present day international issues which have bearing upon the world situation and tension...

The question of disarmament influences and is influenced by other problems. It should not therefore be treated in isolation from other international problems and the general state of international relations. Any scheme for disarmament must be realistic, in the sense that it should contain measures designed to decrease world tension and to create a climate of the mutual trust and confidence and thereby arrest the cold war and all its disastrous and dangerous consequences. The realism of such programme should, above all, take into consideration the relations between the Big Powers. However well it may appear, the programme will not be effective if the Big Powers are not prepared to implement it, and to show readiness to solve the outstanding international issues by peaceful means, and to improve their mutual relations...

The present tension and instability in the international situation, and the rapid development in military technique increase every day the probability of accidents which might start war between the Big Powers. Therefore, unless agreement is quickly



reached on the principle of general and complete disarmament, the instability of the political and economic system behind the arms race may increase the possibilities of fatal accidents to occur. It is therefore extremely essential, in the scheme of total disarmament to abolish the production and use of all nuclear weapons; prohibit once for all any kind of atomic tests, and to place these matters under an effective system of international control.

This is, in fact, only the first step in the march towards the solution of the international problems. A number of other steps should be taken in conjunction therewith. The second most essential step is to implement in an effective way the resolution of the United Nations regarding the liquidation of colonialism...

Both problems, total disarmament and the termination of colonialism, should be tackled together as they are closely interdependent. Imperialism which is mainly the struggle of certain powers and vested interest for world domination, and the control of its human and material resources, endeavours to achieve these objectives by the use of force. Nowhere is this more clear than in Algeria where for 7 years the French have been waging an aggressive colonial war against the Algerian people. At the recent negotiations between the two sides the Algerian Government tried honestly and sincerely to find ways and means to settle the problem and reach an understanding. The negotiations, however, failed because France insisted on maintaining its vested economic interests at the expense of the legitimate rights of the Algerian People...

The increase in threats and rattling of the most devastating weapons is worrying humanity all over the world and nothing will restore its tranquillity more than doing away with the causes of this atmosphere of perpetual anxiety lest humanity's security and safety may be endangered; and nothing would bring this about except the complete liquidation of colonialism, complete and general disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests. Then, and only then, peaceful coexistence may become possible, and the relations between nations, small and large, may be based on complete equality. Thus, and if the principles which I have pointed out in this speech are applied, the importance of a state and the criterion of its greatness will not be measured by its weapons, armies, fleets, aircraft, nor by the quantities it possesses of the means of destruction, but rather by what that state is able to realise for its people of the means of freedom, prosperity and welfare; for civilization of the means of progress and improvement, and for humanity of the potentialities of the conquest of nature. Then the prestige of a state will be measured only by its adherence to the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations; its respect for the authority of law, and its services in the cause of international peace and security...

*Josip Broz Tito:*

## Concentration of all Forces for the Victory

In order to inaugurate the process leading to the solution of the problem of disarmament, it is obvious that not only more intense efforts, but a new approach to this problem are today called for. This new approach calls for the broad and active participation of countries which have neither been involved in the arms race nor directly engaged in disarmament negotiations.

Here I am thinking of those countries in particular whose approach to this problem, in view of their role in international affairs, is not burdened with the thought of safeguarding their own interests and prestige and which, are able, therefore, to discern more objectively the possibilities for the solution of the disarmament question and are ready to strive to the utmost towards that end.

Perhaps the time has come to consider the possibility of convening a general world disarmament conference, as a means for moving this problem off dead center. This, of course, does not mean to diminish the role of the great nuclear powers in a field where they will continue to bear the main responsibility. This should merely result in the creation of conditions where these powers also could and, in a sense would have to adjust their positions to the genuine requirement of setting the disarmament problem...

In the present state of profound crisis in the field of disarmament, it appears to me that special importance should be attached to the question of initial and partial measures. These measures, of course, should not be construed as an alternative to complete disarmament, which remains the basic and increasingly urgent task. These measures, however, provided they are really aimed at genuine disarmament, could create more favourable conditions for initiating the process of disarmament and could even contribute directly towards this process...

The negotiations on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests have also reached an impasse. What is even worse, a western power which is a member of the Atlantic Pact — France — has failed to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on the discontinuance of atomic tests, but continues to carry out such tests, while the other western powers possessing atomic armaments have not taken any resolute measures against this. The matters have now reached a point where the Soviet Government has published a statement on the resumption of nuclear weapons tests. We are not surprised so much by the communiqué on the resumption of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, because we could understand the reasons adduced by the Government of the USSR. We are surprised more by the fact that this was done on the day of the opening of this Conference of peace.



All this has alarmed the whole world to an even greater extent. We consider that utmost efforts should be exerted in order to bring about a resumption of negotiations on this problem. It should be examined in all seriousness and in a constructive spirit, because the present moment is decisive for the taking of urgent measures in order to prevent the worst...

### **Situation in Berlin**

We all know that the situation in Berlin has recently become much worse. There is even talk of an armed conflict, if the Soviet Union signs a peace treaty with Eastern Germany and transfers to the latter the sovereign rights of control over the approaches to West Berlin, etc. Is it really possible that the idea of going to war because of this should have occurred to some people, that the world should be thrown into a new catastrophe because of this? Whoever started anything of the kind would have the entire peace-loving public opinion of the world against him. I consider that it is necessary to talk and to negotiate on this question in order to find at least a provisional solution, which would not prejudice a final settlement to be achieved later. When I say later, I do not mean that this question should be preserved in order to be resurrected at the first opportunity as a hotbed of new conflict, but that it is necessary to find a reasonable way out of this situation with a view to overcoming the existing tension, which, in addition to threatening peace, makes it impossible to set about the settlement of other major issues and to create favourable conditions for their final solution...

### **Colonial problem**

It is simply unbelievable how some colonial powers cannot, or do not want, to understand the spirit of our times and the processes which are now taking place. They cannot resign themselves to the inevitable historical process which is now taking place in Africa and Asia; they cannot resign themselves to the fact that the last hour of colonialism has struck. In this they do not hesitate to resort to the most savage bloodshed and terror against unarmed peoples, nor do they hesitate to apply economic pressure and other methods in order to prolong, somehow or other, their colonial, imperialist rule, under any form and at any price, even at the cost of provoking armed conflicts fraught with unforeseeable consequences...

The elimination of colonial relationships and of neo-colonialistic attempts at preserving the substance of colonialism in changed circumstances is today equally to the advantage of colonial peoples and of the peoples of metropolitan countries. Full support to peoples and countries struggling against colonial domination for their fundamental rights is, at the same time, one of the basic prerequisites for an effective eradication of sources of war and of dangers threatening world peace...

### **Economic development**

The question of cooperation of the developed countries with the less developed ones is particularly urgent in Africa and Asia, where economic weakness and underdevelopment not only retard the emancipation of the colonial countries and the attainment of their independence, but also hamstring, in one way or another the independent development of those countries which have already formally acceded to independence, but whose political independence is often reduced to the lowest level by economic dependence. This is the actual substance of neo-colonialism, viz. to retain its economic, and thereby also political positions, by maintaining a formally liberated country in a state of economic dependence on the metropolitan country. The same applies to the countries of Latin America; they are justly striving towards a more rapid economic development which they cannot easily achieve without appropriate international support and assistance.

The needs of underdeveloped regions are vast — and who is best in a position to give the necessary means to these regions? Naturally, the most developed countries, and primarily those which are spending, today, enormous resources on armaments. For, these resources are not only being wasted for unproductive purposes, but are also the source of permanent tension and are causing mankind to live in fear of the possibility of an armed conflict. If only one tenth of the resources that are being spent on armaments were invested into the development of less developed regions, this would meet the requirements of a very intensive development of those countries, whose peoples are suffering today great poverty and want. But this should be done without any political or similar conditions, because only in that case would cooperation be fully effective both in regard to the countries that would receive financial aid and in respect to the general improvement of the world situation. The overcoming of economic backwardness in Africa, Asia and elsewhere would promote to the greatest extent the development of trade as well as general progress and prosperity in the world...

I expect that this Conference will devote special attention to the question of economic cooperation among non-aligned countries. I am raising this question in view of the current international situation, which — owing to the division of the world into blocs — is increasingly obstructing economic cooperation and the closer linking up of the economies of various countries through the world market. The economy of each country, regardless of its social and economic system, feels the need of ever closer general economic cooperation. The establishment of the Common Market in Western Europe and the recent setting up of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which is beginning to be referred to as the Atlantic Economic Community, then the establishment of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (SEV), the organisation of East European countries, etc. constitute one of the greatest obstacles to closer economic relations and cooperation. For this



reason, the countries outside these organisations, in the first place the non-aligned countries, find themselves subjected to discrimination. In the future, this situation could be even further aggravated, and could affect even more adversely the economic development of non-aligned, as well as all other countries. For this reason, as well as many others, I feel that economic cooperation among the less developed countries should be established on the broadest possible basis and should include all the non-aligned countries as well as all the other less developed countries which are ready for such cooperation...

### United Nations

I believe that we are, on the whole, in agreement that certain measures of reorganisation should be undertaken in order to enable the World Organisation to perform its functions more successfully in the future and to eliminate the defects which have appeared in the work of its organs, e.g. in the case of Congo. We must admit that, in spite of certain weaknesses, the United Nations has played an important and useful role by intervening in disputes which constituted a threat to peace, by preventing aggression, etc. Consequently, we should make the greatest efforts to preserve this Organisation and enable it to carry out its responsible and difficult functions in full...

One of the most urgent tasks is the extension of the membership of some of the principle organs of the United Nations, viz. of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, so as to bring the structure of the membership of these more restricted bodies into harmony with the considerably increased membership of the United Nations and to enable the new members — and this means primarily the regions of the world in Asia and Africa which have been neglected so far — to assert themselves fully and to exercise in these organs the influence to which they are entitled.

*Archbishop Makarios:*

## To Remove Mistrust

Man is not yet able to build up his future. He is not in a position to look forward with confidence. He is not able to plan without fear for the better days to come. He is still living in the agony of what might happen tomorrow in the shadow of the dread of a possible destruction under the menace of a new war.

The right of self-determination of all peoples is the corner stone of the Charter of the United Nations. Any solution which ignores the will of the people concerned cannot be a sound and lasting solution nor can it preserve peace. In this context we should examine one of the most dangerous problems which confront us today, namely the question of Germany. I feel that any solution of the problem of Germany

should not disregard the will of the German people whose right to determine freely their status and future cannot be denied. Several arguments are being advanced by the interested parties on the German problem and in particular on the Berlin situation, on account of which the possibility of another war cannot be excluded. It would not be helpful to deal at this stage in detail with these arguments. But I would like to emphasise one point, important to my mind, namely that the people of Berlin cannot be kept in a kind of concentration camp. They should be allowed freedom of movement between West and East Berlin. All arguments which are meant to justify the existence of barriers are, in my view, unfounded. Any negotiations for the solution of the Berlin crisis and in general of the German problem must be based on the will of the German people freely expressed. Let the Germans themselves decide through a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations their form and system of Government and as to whether Germany should be united or remain divided.

Neither side should insist on negotiations on its own basis or put conditions. They should meet in a spirit of understanding and with a common purpose, that of preserving peace, with due regard to the right of the people concerned.

The crisis over Berlin adds to the seriousness of the already existing very grave dangers the roots of which are to be found in the arms race, in an effort to retain the balance of power. Balance of power, however it may be thought to be necessary as a temporary measure, cannot secure peace. On the contrary the piling of arms has always led to war. It is regrettable that not only has there been no progress on disarmament but not even agreement on banning nuclear tests, although the parties concerned know full well the actual evil effects on human life from such tests. We were shocked to hear that the Soviet Union declared its intention to resume nuclear tests. In this connection I would also wish to place on record our concern over the carrying on of nuclear tests by France in Africa against world opinion and in disregard of the protests of the people of that continent. Efforts should be made towards general and complete disarmament in implementing the resolution adopted by the 14th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The principal military powers should resume direct negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations. Since peace is the concern of the whole world, other countries should be associated with the disarmament negotiations.

Above all good will is imperative. Mistrust must be removed. It is beyond any doubt clear, that disarmament and international confidence are closely linked. Therefore while striving for the abolition of armaments, all countries must actively endeavour to reduce tension by helping to remove all unnecessary causes of friction and suspicion. Within this framework the role of the non-aligned countries can be of immense importance and value.



*Sirimavo Bandaranaike:*

## For Direct East-West Negotiations

Many of the Heads of States and Heads of Governments who addressed this Conference in plenary sessions have emphasized the point that our group of nations does not propose to become a third bloc or a third force. None of us can really disagree with that view, for that would be inconsistent with the very idea of non-alignment. But it is important to remember that in our anxiety to avoid becoming a third force we must not allow our spirit of unity and purpose which has been so evident at this Conference to disintegrate and fall apart...

The tensions which have grown in various parts of the world in recent years can be traced to the clash of interest between the two power blocs. Nowhere is this clash more pronounced than over Germany. Here we have the case of two governments, each of them committed to opposing military alliances, each of them dependent upon the policies pursued by their stronger allies. Is there no way of bridging the gulf between the two German States and of reconciling the interests of the two blocs which have created this division? In my view, this problem will not be solved if the Governments concerned continue to insist on legal arguments of a technical kind...

We regret to note, however, that no satisfactory solution acceptable to all the parties concerned has yet been found. Fears and prejudices, some real and others imaginary, have stood in the way of a solution. A spirit of compromise and conciliation should therefore be adopted by the parties directly concerned in order to arrive at a settlement of this question...

It is our view that as a first step towards creating international confidence the great powers should firmly resolve and make it known to the world that they will not resort to military engagements and will depend solely on peaceful negotiations to arrive at a solution. The great powers must also agree to the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from their respective sectors in Germany and to the demilitarization of Germany. The great powers must immediately get down to the task of reopening direct East-West negotiations designed to achieve a final settlement by peaceful means. For the success of such negotiations it would be essential for the two Germanies to participate in the discussions, since the future of Germany must be determined not in accordance with the cold war strategy to suit either of the great powers but in order to establish a unified state, insulated as far as possible from the cold war and unaligned with either of the existing power blocs...

Ceylon has consistently advocated the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. We share the view expressed at this Conference that

colonialism is morally unjust and politically out of date...

The United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session made a significant declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. That resolution called for immediate action to be taken to end the colonial issue in all dependent territories but did not specify a date line. One of the matters which this Conference may have to consider will be the desirability of translating that resolution into practical terms...

As countries having a vested interest in peace we should make an immediate appeal to the big powers to resume negotiations with a view to the achievement of complete and general disarmament. In my view, it would help these negotiations if a certain number of the non-aligned countries are also included in the Disarmament Commission...

The United Nations stands for the maintenance of international peace and security and it is in the interest of all concerned, particularly the small countries, to maintain and strengthen this organisation.

We would prefer basic changes in the Charter in order to strengthen this organisation, but disagreement among the big powers makes this difficult. The failure to seat the representative of the People's Republic of China has contributed to this impasse. It is our earnest hope that wise counsels will prevail and that China will take her legitimate seat in the United Nations.

The office of the Secretary General has in recent times come in for much criticism, and a new proposal has been made by the Soviet Union to change the office of the Secretary General into a triumvirate of three persons having the same power and the right of veto.

An alternative suggestion has been the appointment of three deputies on a similar basis. We do not conform to either viewpoint in spite of the mistakes made by the Secretary General over the Congo situation last year. On the contrary, we feel that the Secretary General should retain sole executive authority for carrying out the directives of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the other bodies of the United Nations...

The composition of the Security Council and the other institutions of the United Nations does not adequately reflect the present membership of the United Nations. When a satisfactory solution is reached as regards the representation of the People's Republic of China we feel a reallocation of seats could be made in those bodies so that greater representation might be given to the Asian-African group.

The existence of an economic imbalance and the problems of unequal economic development assume considerable significance in our exchange of views on the international situation. It is not coincidence that the majority of the underdeveloped nations believe in a policy of non-alignment. They are only too aware of the enormous tasks which confront them in the economic field and the need to devote their slender



resources to the fulfilment of these tasks. They also realise that the tension which exists between ideological blocs can be raced directly to the existence of economic imbalance. As long as there exists a gulf between the developed and the underdeveloped countries the possibilities of tension are immense...

*Prince Norodom Sihanouk:*

## Creation of Neutralized Zones

We have gathered here to reaffirm and defend the sacred principles of sovereignty of nations, their freedom to choose their State systems, institutions and policy — provided that it is not based on aggression and that it does not represent a danger to world peace. We are well aware of the fact that some States have committed and are still committing acts which we have condemned and which we are condemning now. But, to condemn these States publicly, to insult or threaten them has never given any useful results and, in our opinion, it can only intensify their mistakes, for, as they put it, this is a question of “saving one’s face”. However, our aim should not be to make them “lose their face”. History has undertaken this task and history will fulfil it. Our aim should be to achieve as concrete results as possible to the wellbeing of our friends who are still suffering under oppression.

The people of Cambodia is aware of the fact that the last moments of colonialism are still far away. We know that, many peoples, especially in Africa, are struggling for their freedom. They know that they are not alone as we have been in our struggle for independence. On the other hand, oppressors of these peoples are aware that their endeavours are hopeless and futile and subject to general disapproval. Under such circumstances in which we give full support to our friends, I think that it is in their own interest to avoid manoeuvres which lead to the sharpening of obsolete colonialist methods and prolong their struggle and bloodshed.

Our struggle against the remnants of colonialism will be more effective if it is conscious and waged in the belief that the final victory will soon be won. What can hatred and antagonistic attitudes help in these conditions? It is true that we have been disqualified and ignored in the past. The more we believe in our strength and future, however, the more we succeed in freeing ourselves from complexes, the sooner will this colonialist attitude be eliminated...

The present developments show that the most acute danger comes from imperialists who are trying their strength in artificially divided countries which they call “spheres of influence” or “zones of vital interest”, which stands for vital interests of the free will of the nations concerned, their countries would soon be reunited. And, does anyone believe that a nation can lose its patriotism to such a

degree as to accept the division of its own country into two parts in which a state of hostility is artificially maintained?

It is a matter of rivalry and ambitions, and, if I may say so, imperialism of the two blocs, which is fully responsible for the maintenance of the division of some countries, such as Germany, Korea, Vietnam and Laos into two zones which have become two separate states.

The world holds that it is normal to maintain such an unsound situation and that nations which have long been united should be divided against their will, not only geographically, but also politically and economically which inevitably endangers their future. The world considers it normal since it accepts the facts that some nations are sacrificed to the bloc interests. Such conditions however, create an extremely dangerous precedent which should be seriously studied by small nations which rightly wonder whether the big powers will transfer the arena of the cold war into their territories and settle their own conflicts by cutting these small countries cheerfully as if they were birthday cakes. The people of Cambodia has experienced and escaped this danger in 1959.

It would be ideal for mankind to eliminate the blocs and the bloc spirit, to enable every nation to lead a life and chose a regime it likes and as a result of this not to become a victim of foreign interference, subversion and even ideological propaganda, which is also a form of subversive activity.

However, in view of the fact that the blocs are what they are, it would be desirable to prevent them to confront each other, to make them avoid temptations they can seldom resist, i. e. to ensure strategic, political, economic or other advantages for themselves using all available means. In the regions most directly exposed to bloc conflicts, i. e. in the regions in which the cold war is raging in its most dangerous form it would perhaps be necessary to try to create neutral, buffer-zones. The wish to create such buffer-zones in various parts of the world is different from the wish to create a bloc or a federation of states. The aim of this is simply to make the two blocs recognize the usefulness of a series of countries whose neutrality they would accept and guarantee, and thus avoid the risk of conflict, the most dangerous of which is the conflict over joint frontiers...

*King Hasan II:*

## Disarmament — Universal Problem

In our view, the Conference to undertake the revision of the Charter should consider, in particular, two important questions. The first is the organization of an international force which would provide the United Nations with the means by which it could itself maintain peace and security and ensure the



enforcement of its decisions in a world in which all armaments would be abolished. We believe, in fact, that the most serious blows which have been inflicted on the Organization's authority have been due to the contradiction between the basic function of the United Nations to maintain peace and security and the determination of the great Powers to rely solely on their own strength in order to impose their predominance.

The second task assigned to the proposed Conference should be to seek ways of enabling the United Nations to deal with the problems of under-development more equitably and effectively than in the past. Those, in Our opinion, are the two essential aspects of the United Nations mission in the contemporary world. Nevertheless, although the United Nations is at present going through a difficult period and no longer reflects international reality, it is still despite everything, the sole instrument available to men for cooperating in peace and concord and satisfying their most legitimate aspirations. That is why We feel that, pending the complete reform of the United Nations, it would be advisable to settle certain preliminary questions without delay, in order to respond at least to the legitimate and urgent desire of the newly independent countries to take an active part in the work of the United Nations.

It would be a matter of making a fair distribution of the present seats on the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council, of developing the powers and means of action of the regional economic commissions and of amending and improving the system of recruitment of United Nations personnel.

Yet despite all its weaknesses, the United Nations is still a positive achievement of mankind in the direction of peace and co-operation among peoples. We must do all we can to correct its weaknesses and to endow it with the necessary authority and means to enable it to carry out decisive missions for the human race.

We still consider, as We said last year, that the procedure for the resumption of negotiations on disarmament can take place in two stages.

In the first stage, a sub-committee, composed solely of representatives of five neutral countries, could meet. The main task of this sub-committee, assisted by experts, would be to clarify the terms of the debate, defining one by one the points of agreement and disagreement which unite or separate the two plans proposed.

Such an inventory has admittedly been made many times. In the past, however, it has been more polemical in character and has therefore ended by being an instrument of propaganda and hence unable to be used. It is for that reason that we think that this work should be resumed and it can only be done by the countries that are not parties in the debate.

Finally, in the second stage, the Disarmament Committee, made up of the ten countries already on it and the five neutral countries forming the subcommittee, would meet. It would work on the basis of the documents prepared by the sub-committee of

neutral countries, whose role of arbitration and good offices should make the discussion more effective. To this end it might be proposed that the representatives of the five non-aligned countries should take the chair in turn and by right.

That is our position on this thorny question, whose settlement would clear the international atmosphere and at the same time would make it easier to find a solution to other problems, such as the German problem and the Berlin question.

If peace is threatened in Europe because of the problem of Berlin, it is no less threatened on our frontiers, in the territory of the Arab Maghreb, where for the past seven years colonialism has been waging a relentless war against a people fighting courageously for its dignity and its most sacred rights. The entire Algerian nation is meeting what has proved to be a most murderous colonial war with a faith and courage which have aroused the admiration and sympathy of the whole world.

Morocco, for its part, is in complete solidarity with the Algerian people and considers that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, which has emerged from a people engaged in struggle, is alone qualified to represent Algeria and alone qualified to assume any undertaking on its behalf.

We deplore the fact that the contacts made so far have yielded no results; we deplore the fact that peace has not resulted from Melun, Evian or Lugrin.

Another African people, the brave people of Angola, are undergoing martyrdom in order to recover their dignity, and Portuguese colonialism is striving even now to destroy that brother-country's individuality by the most inhuman means.

In fact, a real colonial war with all its accompaniment of suffering and mourning is being waged against the courageous people of Angola in an endeavour to make them renounce their aspirations to freedom and dignity.

It is our duty to lend our unqualified support to this cause which is indisputably our own and to help the patriots of Angola in every way we can so that peace and freedom may be established as soon as possible in that country.

In the course of this statement we have mentioned several trouble spots in the world. The causes are well known, and we do not intend to retrace the whole history of colonialism in this august Assembly.

The conscience of mankind has been so enlightened in the matter that it is comforting to note the Declaration on the granting of independence to the non-self-governing countries was adopted without opposition at the last session of the General Assembly. But although this declaration of principle was adopted by the United Nations it has not yet taken effect. We must now devise means of giving effect to this declaration.



*Modibo Keita:*

## Sincere Cooperation among all Nations

Well, here we are in Belgrade, gathered at the historical Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. I must say that I prefer the expression »non-aligned« to »uncommitted«.

For the Republic of Mali, non-alignment is a synonym for dignity and independent personality. Therefore, our people who have not shrunk from sacrifices to gain their freedom, refuse to define themselves as subordinate to either country, to either bloc.

I have an opportunity of saying everywhere that this does not mean that we are speculating with even the temporary balance between the great powers. Such a policy would inevitably lead to loss of honour and individuality; it would lead to disaster. Mali has nothing in common with neutrality which rejects to become committed even if logic and morals demanded this.

However, there is another, positive aspect which reflects our sense of responsibility in all fields and in all respects. It is the need to study all problems, to form one's own views, and define them, irrespective of the fact whether they coincide with those held by the West or the East. This sense of responsibility makes it necessary for us to choose between the colonialist and neo-colonialist forces and the subordinated nations — to choose between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces. Yes, we are engaged side by side with nations which are fighting for their independence and against those who are depriving them of their freedom and who are subjecting them to barbaric revenge; we are with those who uphold the view that all peoples are equal, that all have the right to be respected; and against those who uphold the theory of the superiority of certain races, certain nations; we are proceeding side by side with those who are seeking to establish lasting peace, and against those who desire peace only if it enables them to dominate the world. We do not align ourselves with the positions defined by either the Eastern or the Western bloc, but we shall engage in action necessary to gain victory for the principles which should govern the civilized world, based on the moral attitude which proclaims the liberty of individuals and nations sacred, and any attack on this liberty criminal.

We feel, just as you do, every blow dealt to the liberty of enslaved nations by colonialism, especially the peoples of Africa. We shall continue to give our active, unreserved support to all these peoples, until colonialism has been liquidated on African soil... Guided by these principles, our Republic will continue to help the Algerian people in their struggle against French colonialism and for independence and territorial integrity.

For this reason we raised our voice against Belgian colonialism and in support of Patrice Lumumba, and

united our efforts for the liberation and unification of the Congo.

We are supporting with the same persistence, our brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, and all other countries under foreign domination. In my opinion, our Conference should not hesitate for a single second, but should support these peoples in their struggle, which is being waged in extremely difficult conditions.

The greatest and best contribution to the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism is to offer unreserved support to liberation movements, and to recognize these movements. If we do so, we shall remain faithful to the United Nations Charter, under which every nation has the right to decide its own future. By adopting such an attitude, we are negating the effect of the paternal attitude of the colonialist powers, which justify their presence on foreign soil by alleging that the native population is not sufficiently mature.

The origins of our struggle lie in the desire to put an end to humiliation, to modern slavery. Its ultimate aim is the liberation of man.

The problems of peace and war are so urgent that our Conference must raise its voice, clearly and loudly, on the issues of conflict between the two blocs.

Such is the case for disarmament, the significance and complexity of which nobody can forget. I do not want to speak at length on the disastrous consequences of a future war. We are interested in the disarmament problem for precisely the same reasons as the two blocs. What is needed is complete and general disarmament; but should this prevent the big powers from considering as positive every partial solution to this problem? Would not numerous partial solutions, accepted with great patience, lead to a final solution? Meanwhile, we think that it is very necessary for the two blocs to avoid conflicts, which hamper and prolong negotiations, in which every side gives priority to the question of prestige, and not to the effectiveness of the discussion. We think, therefore, that it should be possible to discuss successfully disarmament and other world problems, with the active participation of the non-aligned countries.

There is another important problem which must not be neglected, and that is the problem of the situation imposed on Korea, Vietnam and China. The peoples of Korea, Vietnam China and Germany wish to achieve their national unity. Why not let the interested peoples voice their opinion, and enable them to negotiate among themselves? A peace treaty with two German States? Really, in the present circumstances such a step would be an unfortunate formality, when the fact that both Germanies have been rearmed by the two blocs is taken into account. The German people, by accepting rearmament, have become a toy in the hands of those who wish to cause dissension between them. The solution to the problem may easily be found by the Germans themselves — by renouncing all military alliances, by complete neutralization through general demilitarization, and by negotiation in order to find the necessary prerequisites for unification.



*Hose Fellman Valorde:*

## Force of Peace

Two things have dominated the foreign political arena in recent years. These are the conflict between the big powers, and the struggle of industrially underdeveloped, colonial and semi-colonial countries for their political liberty, economic independence and higher standard of living. World history has witnessed the rivalry of the big powers. The number of countries affected by this rivalry and the danger arising from it have been constantly increasing, so that today every individual in the world is inevitably subject to the effects of these conflicting interests.

The policy of non-alignment has always been a means to preserve the population of the countries which pursue this line in their foreign policy from the bitter consequences of the conflict dividing the big powers. The policy of non-alignment has never been such a strong multi-national force as it is today. This is due to the desire to preserve peace, not only among the non-aligned countries, but among all the nations of the world. In other words, this force is the result of the wish to prevent war.

This policy is an important and decisive contribution to the preservation of peace among all nations. It is so powerful and decisive that it attracts the attention of the biggest world powers and is carefully followed by them, for it is the population of these powers that would be most disastrously affected by the horrors of war.

The fact that the non-aligned countries have appeared in the world diminishes the danger of conflicts between the big powers, since the border-line of these conflicts are drawn in all parts of the world. Meanwhile, the policy of non-alignment helps reduce the number of possible local battle-fields and new conflicts.

The significance of the non-aligned countries as a factor for peace is not confined to these two reasons only. It primarily lies in the enormous strength and moral power of these countries, which gives them the right to guarantee that mankind will not witness the transformation of war fears into reality. Mankind desires to witness an era in which its hopes will be fulfilled. The people of Bolivia share these views and hopes.

Parallel with the conflict between the big powers, the present-day world is a witness of the struggle of underdeveloped countries for their political freedom, economic independence and better living conditions. This struggle may be less dramatic, but it is just as important and deep-rooted as the conflict dividing the big powers. We consider that we are obliged — within our capabilities — to contribute to the cause of peace, not only for reasons of humanity, but also because there can be no progress without peace. Apart from this, it is our opinion that it is necessary to mobilize all our forces to overcome economic backwardness, and to do every-

thing we can to help other countries achieve this aim. Nations which are faced with the bitter reality of economic backwardness have common interests and similar ideals. This is why we should, or rather, must seek ways and means of promoting mutual cooperation. This is why we must adopt a common language and ensure greater attention for our views. Historically, this moment is favourable for us. The rapid and irrepressible development of the nations, and the cold war conflicts, mark the hour of the small nations.

The people and Government of Bolivia greet the countries gathered here and express their warm wishes that this Conference, inspired by the goodwill of those represented, may attain the aims it has set itself, and fulfil the hopes it has aroused in millions of people.

*Beavogui Luis Lansana:*

## Peace and Freedom Are Inseparable

The Guinean delegation would like to express here the views of the Guinean people on the problem which most troubles the general conscience — the problem of peace and international security. It is generally acknowledged that peace and freedom constitute an indivisible whole. No part of the globe, no country on the earth can feel really secure as long as dangers of war exist in other parts of the world or as long as the situation in various countries remains unstable. At present, the dangers of war are multiplying everywhere — in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America. In Europe, too, people feel the threat of general war. The situation in Algeria, Angola, Palestine, Western Irian, Taiwan, Cuba and Berlin, the places which are potent sources of conflict, threatens peace and international security and it cannot but trouble our Conference.

The production of weapons for mass destruction swallows a great part of resources in the world, whereas backwardness and poverty continue to plague the life of a great majority of the world's population.

Technological and scientific discoveries and advances are exploited for military purposes instead of being used to promote the prosperity of nations. In our opinion, all this is due to the views of some states on international security. Generally speaking, these states think that they will solve political and social problems by force and not by negotiations. But, can there be real negotiations while there are oppressed and oppressors, while there are countries which deprive other countries of their freedom, while racial discrimination and "apartheid" exist as systems of government?

Our delegation considers that the struggle for peace and international security must, primarily, be asso-



ciated with the problem of establishing the true independence of nations which are still dependent, with the question of respect of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and of non-interference in their internal affairs.

Evidently, we must state that the struggle for the liberation of a colonial nation cannot and should not be considered as an internal struggle of the ruling people. The wars between Algeria and France, Angola and Portugal, cannot be considered as internal affairs of France and Portugal.

On the contrary, interference of any colonial power in the internal affairs of a former colony must be considered as an act of aggression, as an attempt to prolong the domination which cannot be tolerated. The existence of military bases in foreign territories is one of the numerous forms of interference in the affairs of the countries in which such bases are maintained and also a constant threat to international peace.

Mister Chairman,

We are sure that our Conference will consider these problems in all their accurate aspects so as to find the most adequate solutions.

The existing sources of war dangers must be eliminated and conditions should be established which will make it possible to prevent the appearance of new sources of friction.

We should unambiguously manifest our solidarity with the countries which are fighting for their national liberation.

So as to contribute to the consolidation of peace and international security, we propose that the Conference should:

1. Condemn every colonialist domination and assist directly the emancipation and independence of all dependent peoples;
2. Decide that we shall extend concrete assistance to all peoples who are fighting for their independence and against colonialist domination;
3. Decide that we shall support efforts to reach agreement on general and controlled disarmament and to stop all nuclear blasts immediately;
4. Demand that all military bases in foreign countries should be disbanded at once;
5. Send a formal appeal for the use of technical and scientific discoveries, particularly in the field of nuclear engineering, for the peaceful development of productive forces and communication means in various backward and insufficiently developed countries;
6. Confirm our determination to seek, through negotiations on a footing of equality, the most suitable forms of cooperation between countries with different economic systems;
7. Support, with respect of independence, in the United Nations and elsewhere every action directed to help liberate peoples and promote peaceful international cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

The insufficiencies and failures of the United Nations can, partially, be explained by the shortcomings in its present composition. First of all, these shortcomings are the unequal distribution of seats in its main organs: Security Council, Economic and Social Council, etc.

However, the fact which honest people cannot approve is the absence of the People's Republic of China from the World Organization.

Bearing all this in mind, we propose that our Conference should:

1. Propose and support the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations;
2. Recommend a reorganization of the composition of the United Nations and a better distribution of seats in its bodies. In our opinion, the Secretariat should have one Secretary General and three Assistant Secretaries who would represent the East, the West and the non-aligned countries. The distribution of seats should be made on a geographical basis in all United Nations organs, including specialized agencies.

There is yet another agenda item about which we must speak. This is unequal economic development and international cooperation.

*Adan Abdullah Osman:*

## Colonialism — a Direct Threat to Peace

It seems to me that an indispensable prerequisite for the success of any concerted action on our part, which may be contemplated, is that we, the Non-Aligned States, should ourselves be void of any form of animosity or prejudice against either of the antagonistic blocs of Great Powers.

If it has been the consistent practice of the majority of us here to display, as individual States, bitter hostility against either of the Great Power blocs through every medium of propaganda, much scepticism is sure to arise regarding our avowals of non-alignment and this would, in turn, diminish the value of any collective action we might be contemplating in the interests of the maintenance of world peace.

Mere abstention from military alliances with either of the Great Power blocs should not be the sole criterion of non-alignment. If we show where our sympathies lie by expressions of bitter and biased criticism motivated by hatred and constantly levelled against one side only, our professions of non-alignment will be worthless and hypocritical.

If our joint opinions and counsels are to exert the maximum beneficial influence of which they are capable, it is imperative that we avoid hatred and prejudice and that we be guided by sound ethical principles and a sense of justice in our efforts to contribute to world peace.



Our standing in the eyes of the world will be greatly enhanced if we consistently express our views on international disputes without fear or favour and act in accordance with the moral dictates of our conscience.

It is only in this way that we can best minimise or eliminate international tensions. If, on the other hand, we repress our views on serious international disputes out of misguided consideration for the feelings of those responsible for their creation, we will be failing ourselves as well as mankind.

Ever since the end of the last world war there has been a series of major crises in different parts of the world, including Korea, Algeria, Laos, and the Congo. Today we are faced with an even more highly critical situation in Berlin.

The possibilities of an explosive and incalculated incident in Berlin are always present and seem to increase daily.

Since the result of a major conflict over Berlin could be inconceivably disastrous to all mankind, it is essential that we give this matter our most careful and unbiased consideration in our deliberations and that we unanimously agree to urge both sides to continue their efforts to reach a settlement by means of peaceful negotiations. It is my belief that a permanent solution to the Berlin situation can be found if the German people are permitted to exercise their fundamental right to self-determination. Furthermore, I would suggest that the Berlin question and the whole German problem be referred to the United Nations at the earliest possible opportunity in the event of failure in the negotiations between the Powers concerned.

I take this opportunity to say how very shocked the Government and people of Somalia were by France's brutal aggression in Bizerta and by her violation of the sovereignty of Tunisia.

We pledge ourselves to continue our total and unconditional support for the Tunisian demand for the immediate withdrawal of French imperialist troops from their soil.

The period since the last world war has been characterised by cold war manifestations which have invariably bedevilled international issues and have proved an almost insuperable impediment to world stability and, one may add, to the economic progress of less developed countries.

Tension has been further aggravated by the armaments race and by the unabated acceleration in the development of nuclear weapons of incalculable destructive capacity.

It is most deplorable that astronomical sums of money and inestimable human energy should be spent on the manufacture of such diabolical weapons instead of on humane measures such as social services, including the abolition of hunger, illiteracy and disease and other manifestations of economic poverty in the less developed countries.

We should endeavour to exert every possible pressure to cause the rival Powers to overcome the present deadlock in their disarmament talks and, in the interests of world peace, to reach a speedy agreement banning the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons.

It is most regrettable that France has persisted in carrying out nuclear tests in Africa in utter disregard for the health of the people in the adjacent African territories and in flagrant defiance of United Nations Resolutions on this matter.

Colonialism is another problem which constitutes a threat to world peace and security. Despite the adoption by the United Nations of a Resolution condemning colonialism and urging its entire and speedy liquidation in all its forms and manifestations, millions of people, particularly in Africa, are still ruled and oppressed by an alien minority.

The valiant Algerian people have, as you all know, been carrying on for the past seven years a heroic struggle for Independence. We hope that their efforts will be crowned with success and that they will soon realise all their national aspirations, without any diminution of their territorial integrity. We have consistently supported the Algerian cause and solemnly declare our intention to continue doing so until they attain their final goals and occupy their rightful place in the Comity of Nations.

The African people's struggle for independence in Angola has been parried by the Portuguese Government with brutal reprisals involving the indiscriminate massacre of thousands of Africans, irrespective of sex or age. The argument that Goa, Mozambique, Angola and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, form an integral part of Portugal is too absurd to merit any serious consideration.

The plight of the African people in South Africa, South West Africa, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and other African territories, who are also the victims of oppression by an alien minority, likewise deserves our commiseration and attention. The life of misery and injustice to which millions of Africans, particularly in South Africa and South West Africa, have been subjected by an alien minority is bound to create an explosive situation which will plunge the whole of the African Continent into a calamitous conflict.

We heartily rejoice in the fact that Tanganyika is to attain its Independence this year, but we regret to be unable to express similar pleasure in the constitutional situation in the neighbouring East African territories of Kenya and Uganda. However, recent developments in these territories have aroused some optimism regarding their constitutional future and it is our fervent hope that both Kenya and Uganda will not lag behind Tanganyika in their attainment of Independence.

While on the subject of the United Nations I would like to remark on the composition of the various



organs of the United Nations and of the Secretariat. I strongly favour the popular contention that in view of the present preponderance of African and Asian Member States in the United Nations, they should be more adequately represented on all the Councils and Specialized Agencies of the U.N.O. and in the Secretariat itself, particularly as the majority of the matters dealt with by the United Nations relate to them. Regarding the economic functions of the United Nations I would like to confirm the view that it is the most suitable organization through which aid could best be channelled to the less developed countries as the fears of undesirable political conditions associated with certain types of unilateral aid are thus eliminated. However, if nationals of the aid-giving countries preponderate in the different United Nations organs and the Secretariat, fears of manipulation for political purposes are still likely to linger, despite the proven integrity of those responsible for the allocation of economic aid. Confidence in the economic functions of the United Nations can be established beyond all doubt only by adequate representation of the aid-receiving countries on all the organs of the United Nations and also in its Secretariat.

*Benkhedda Ben Youssef:*

## Peace — Based on Freedom and Equality

For our people, who are at war, for us who are fighting resolutely for freedom and peace and who are suffering grievously from the terrible effects of colonial domination — for us the policy of non-alignment is a reflection of our most profound desires. We cannot imagine that a country can avail itself of the advantages of a non-alignment policy without fully pledging itself to the peoples struggling for independence. Nor do we think that a country can fight for liberation from colonial domination without placing its liberation movement within the independent and dynamic framework of non-alignment.

For us who are waging war in a world torn by contradictions but avid for progress, that policy contains a positive element which promotes and enjoins independence and the free development of peoples in an atmosphere of peace, human brotherhood and cooperation.

Non-alignment implies for each nation the right to establish the type of government it desires, to choose freely its regime, its economic and social system and its way of life — in short, to act in accordance with its own guiding spirit unhampered by any pressure from outside. However, this right and this freedom of choice are incompatible with any participation in a military alliance, particularly since experience has shown that actions of such alliances serve to strengthen the solidarity of the imperialist countries.

A convincing example of this is the participation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in various ways in the colonial wars now raging in Algeria and Angola.

The rejection of military alliances cannot of itself create the necessary conditions for a return to a normal situation. We must concentrate our efforts in a permanent way against the danger of a world war. We must, of course, fight for the discontinuance of nuclear explosions and for universal disarmament but we must also enable our peoples to assess the true responsibilities in the race to catastrophe. We firmly believe that this is truly the prerequisite for a durable peace, the surest guarantee for the independence of peoples and for the progress of mankind. Constructive proposals have already been made at this Conference and we believe that they should be given serious discussion.

The non-aligned countries, which represent a large proportion of humanity, cannot be mere spectators at the unfolding of events which present a direct threat to their life and liberty. Nor can they consent to playing a supporting role with respect to the great Powers. It is therefore necessary that our countries should be able to intervene effectively in the conduct of world affairs. The transformation of the political geography of the world should be reflected in international relations. More particularly, the United Nations ought to be reformed to take account of developments since the end of the Second World War. The attitude of contempt towards the United Nations shown by certain States — France in particular — an attitude adopted with an assurance of impunity, has served to diminish the Organization's prestige and authority. Its reorganization in accordance with fresh principles would permit a more equitable representation of the "non-aligned world". It would then have the necessary power to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter, the implementation of its decisions and peace, international security and the independence of peoples...

In some parts of the world, colonialism has effected a withdrawal in order to weaken and divide national liberation movements and to contain the conflagration.

In Algeria, faced with growing armed resistance and daily action by the Algerian masses, the French Government is attempting to change its methods and tactics, employing the approach of neo-colonialism. Seven years of war and the presence of 800,000 French soldiers have not enabled France to settle Algeria's fate by force. Nor have they succeeded in shaking the unity of the people or its determination to carry the struggle to a victorious conclusion. For this reason, France has been compelled to recognize our people's right to self-determination. But two years have elapsed since the recognition of this right — two years in which France has manoeuvred incessantly to rob that right of all meaningful content. In return for the application of the right, of self-determination, France is demanding from our country territorial enclaves under French sovereignty and military bases and is claiming a privileged status for the Europeans which would remove them from



the control of the country's economic and political machinery and would result in the establishment of a State within the State.

Worse still, it is seeking to sever Algeria from its Saharan territory, which forms four fifths of its national territory. Such claims cannot facilitate a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Algerian problem and are constituting to the prolongation of a war which has already more than once threatened world peace by prompting France to commit acts of aggression at Suez and on the frontiers of Tunisia and Morocco.

Our people will never renounce the integrity of their territory, their sovereignty over the Sahara. By means of partitioning Algeria, France is seeking to gain possession of the riches of the Sahara, to retain a site for its nuclear tests and to secure a strategic bastion for the maintenance of its domination in Africa. In the Sahara, we are responsible not only to our own people but to all the peoples of the African continent. Our surest method of advancing the cause of peace in Africa is to adopt an attitude of solidarity in order to frustrate the manoeuvres of colonialism. For its part, the Algerian Government will mobilize all available resources in order to secure genuine independence, within the framework of unity of the people and territorial integrity.

It is also always ready to resume negotiations with the French Government to the extent that that Government is prepared to place a positive construction on the necessary decolonization.

*Prince Seyful Islam el Hassan:*

## To Ease Tension between Blocs

There can be no doubt that the bitter strife, and the strong efforts for liberation have moved a long way forward, and have proved that imperialism has been routed and is on the way to final removal.

One of the most important, prominent and dangerous problems is that of the violent arms race in general, and nuclear weapons in particular. It is clear that the present condition and situation existing between the two camps, is unsuitable for the efforts aiming at disarmament, unless a different atmosphere prevails. That is why it may be our duty, in view of the anxiety and concern we feel to seek those steps which are dictated by reason, as a basis and prelude to our demand for the reduction of arms, and disarmament, particularly since we have witnessed the two camps' disarmament negotiations failing one after the other, and knowing that the negotiations are used either as political manoeuvres, defensive movements resorted to by either party against the other, or as a means of reconnaissance and technical study.

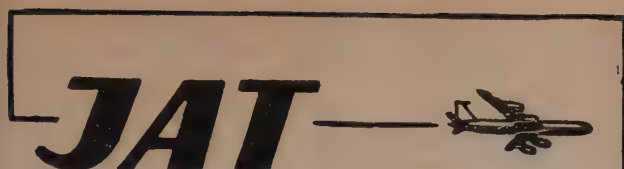
It is our right to examine the means of reducing tension between the two camps, and to mobilise our moral force in our demand that they draw up a programme of their relations and international interests in a confidence inspiring way based on solid foundations which they agree to. As an example we might mention that one of the most complicated of today's problems is that of the Berlin crisis or in other words the German problem. It may not be enough for us to ask both parties merely to resume their talks, without suggesting a plan, or plans, which could be studied with those of us who have more experience and a closer attention. I can see no reason for hesitation in this, for our nations are now threatened with destruction and annihilation as a result of the tension between both camps.

It might help slow the pace of the nuclear arms race, adapt it and reduce the mounting anxiety and concern, for the United Nations to issue a resolution banning the use of nuclear weapons, indicting any who use them, and voiting to conclude an international agreement to this effect.

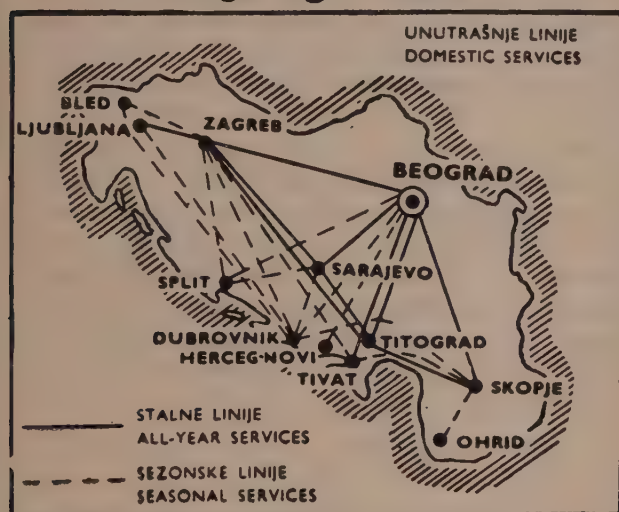
The Mutawakilite Kingdom of the Yemen considers the United Nations the main guarantor for the solution of international problems. Among the duties dictated by circumstances and events is that the United Nations be removed from all influences which might hamper it from carrying out its functions. It cannot be denied that all directions are free to the member states of the United Nations and cannot be limited. If we wish to examine the executive machinery then it would be essential that this be related to an examination of the authorities laid down in the United Nations statutes, without interference in the affairs of any independent state. As regards representation of members, it cannot be argued, that necessity dictates that it should be looked upon as a right for all members and continents without regard to any other considerations, or to the directions involved or the consequences which may or may not be sought after by some of those with enormous interests. It is essential that peoples be represented in the United Nations as there is no more scope for hesitation in this regard. As for the existing split, that can be examined in the same way as the division in Germany can be examined.

Economic development, whichever way it may be, as H.E. the Prime Minister of India and other speakers have pointed out, that it is our duty, that we the underdeveloped nations work within our own countries, is closely related to reduction of armaments, due to the enormous sums spent on armament, which if spent on economic development in underdeveloped nations would stop the tremendous gap at present existing.





***Fly by JAT***




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COMFORTABLE  
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**JUGOSLOVENSKI AEROTRANSPORT**

*Cyrille Adoula:*

## Assistance to Anti-Colonial Struggle

Since the first day of its existence, and in spite of the numerous internal difficulties, my Government has been thinking of taking its place among representatives of the countries which are attending this Conference.

The invitation to take part in this Conference has been favourably received by my Government and the entire Congolese population.

Ever since our country gained independence, the foreign policy of the Congolese Government has been based on the principles of non-alignment. At the Pan-African Conference in Leopoldville towards the end of August 1960, my never forgotten predecessor, the late Patrice Lumumba, clearly endorsed the policy of non-alignment with the blocs. At that time, he emphasized the importance of this policy which he considered to be the only possible policy for countries which had just liberated themselves from the colonial yoke, the only policy to consolidate peace in the world and improve harmonious cooperation between all sovereign states.

After ten long months of crisis, during which we all suffered, conditions have been established for agreement and reconciliation which finally made it possible for the Congolese Parliament to meet again and to name a government of national unity...

The reality of the danger to the Congo, however, revealed and made it known to all that there were countries in the world which have different interests from those of the two blocs. This Conference aroused the hope again that we can avoid destruction. Therefore, we should spare no effort to influence the opposing sides. We must work for the elimination of fear and mistrust between the antagonistic blocs and their leaders. We can play a useful role by guaranteeing such confidence with our moral strength and so prevent an armed conflict.

Now, Mister Chairman, I should like to say something about the problem of disarmament. In this field, our Conference should exert all its energy to impose, so to say, some kind of moral obligation on the big powers and persuade them to approach disarmament. Our Conference and our later acts should support the big powers in their mutual confidence...

Since we ourselves have suffered under colonialism, experience has taught us that this matter is a question of principle. The Congo will never hesitate to support, morally and materially, the peoples who are fighting for their freedom. Our geographical position in the centre of Africa shows us that the liberation of other African nations still under alien domination greatly depends on our support, and the extending of assistance to such nations is, for us, a duty of solidarity which we must in no way avoid.

In regard to the problem of the United Nations Secretary and the proposals that he should be re-



placed by a three-member committee, we hold that the Congolese experience provides an important argument against such proposals. Really, the power of veto, used by any member of such a triumvirate, would undermine every practical decision and would reduce the executive functions of the Organization to ineffectiveness without precedent.

However, the proposals to expand the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, so as to ensure just geographical representation, enjoy our full support...

I should like to emphasize, and to draw your attention to, the fact that the aims of this Conference will be attained only temporarily if the economic conditions of the regions which are developing their resources are not improved. If peace is to be preserved, the free expression of the will of the nation is not sufficient; what is necessary is to free all nations from poverty. Cooperation between industrial countries and countries on the road of development should be expanded in the economic field, and this cooperation should guarantee both the moral and the material development of the nations which are now in an unfavourable position...

*Antoine Gizenga:*

## Respect of National Integrity

The Congolese Government is for a permanent peace, for harmony in international relations, and for respect of the integrity of nations.

Our policy will not be a policy of aggression, and we shall not be subordinated to either bloc.

We, the Congolese, have paid dearly for the awareness that our duty and interests call for neutrality. We hold that the inclusion of Africa in either of the two blocs would destroy the already unsteady balance in the world...

The Government and people of the Congo are in a position which makes it possible for them to understand that the policy of force allows all attitudes and all kinds of acts. Our Government considers that, after a three quarters of a century slavery, its duty is to devote itself to national development and not to be an accomplice in the destruction of mankind...

The words I have now spoken are the words of a man who is, for the people of your countries, a hero, a victim of the two largest and most unjust conspiracies colonialism has ever devised against a former colony. I, of course, think of the late Patrice Lumumba...

I will take the liberty now to recall the words which the late Patrice Lumumba has written in the last

message he sent to his wife from the Thysville prison. He said: "History will one day say its word; but this history will not be made in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations but in the countries freed from colonialism and its servants. Africa will write its own history, a history of glory and dignity".

Almost a month ago, i.e. on August 2, 1961, the Congolese Parliament gave a vote of confidence to a new Government. The supreme body of the Congolese nation also passed unanimously a resolution, stating explicitly that the new Government, the legal successor of the first Congolese Government which had been headed by Patrice Lumumba and in which I myself had been Vice Premier, assumed its functions on August 2, 1961. The principle of conciliation, which was accepted by the Parliament, should now be expanded to all fields of activity. This reconciliation should provide the basis for the consolidation of our young republic.

In spite of the profound gap that has been encouraged since the beginning of the crisis, all the conscious leaders of the people have the duty to work for conciliation sincerely and consistently. No one in the world can fight against time.

Since the principle of conciliation has been accepted by both the 14 million Congolese and by all peaceloving peoples, all those from near and far regions who would like to help us, either through the United Nations or outside it, will have the duty to avoid assisting or encouraging all those that may wish to divide our people and government again.

At the request of the Congolese people, the victims of colonialist conspiracies who voiced this request through their democratically elected representatives, I have agreed to serve the nation in a government headed by Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula. So as to help safeguard the supreme interests of the Congolese nation, the Congolese Prime Minister and I have already had opportunities of considering certain conditions necessary for our sincere cooperation...

## CONCLUDING SPEECH OF KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO

I wish to express my deep satisfaction at the work of the Conference and the results achieved. These results are a true expression of the firm determination of our peoples to create a peaceful world, to introduce freedom and social justice, and to remove the causes of international tension which trouble mankind and seriously threaten its future.

These results have been achieved thanks to the spirit of sincere friendship and fraternity which has dominated our debates and our mutual contracts.

I am glad to express your gratitude and my own to His Excellency President Josip Broz Tito and the



Government and people of Yugoslavia for the warm reception we have been given during our pleasant stay in Belgrade.

I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to President Tito for his heroic efforts during Yugoslavia's liberation struggle, and for his achievements in the economic and social development of his country.

I should also like to pay tribute to the Yugoslav President for the support he has always given to the liberation movements of other countries, as well as for his action in defense of liberty in the world. I wish to express our admiration for the Yugoslav people who, thanks to their courage and firm determination, have succeeded in establishing social justice and in exploiting the country's natural wealth to their own benefit, thus opening an era of progress.

In your name, let me congratulate the Secretariat of the Conference, and Mr Leo Mates and his assistants in particular, as well as all those who have taken part in one way or another in its preparation, thus facilitating our task and making it possible for us to achieve positive results.

Our work has been followed with great attention. In it, the world has seen a spark of fresh hope which may restore confidence and optimism in this troublesome period which is so full of threats to mankind. There is no doubt that we have fulfilled our task and contributed to the cause of peace — a cause common to all of us. We have initiated effective action against colonialism in all its forms, harmonized our ideas, achieved realistic understanding as to our aims, and strengthened cooperation and solidarity among our countries.

Our Conference has adopted resolutions the aim of which is to defend freedom and consolidate world peace.

The urgent appeal sent to Premier Khrushchev and President Kennedy for the preservation of peace deserves a special place among the historical resolutions adopted at the Conference.

This appeal comes not only from ourselves and the nations we represent. It is an appeal from the whole of mankind. It is our profound hope that it will be given serious attention and yield fruitful results.

The Conference may be proud of the fact that it has not fulfilled the expectations of the bad prophets. We are departing from Belgrade united and determined to support the aims set forth at the Conference. Morocco, a country which adopted the policy of non-alignment immediately after gaining its independence, is anxious to see another meeting of this Conference, in order that the results achieved in the implementation of the decisions adopted may be reviewed. Morocco will be honoured and glad to be given an opportunity of offering hospitality to one of the coming meetings of this Conference".

## "CENTROTEXTIL"

EXPORT — IMPORT

Knez Mihajlova 1—3/III

Phone: Telex:

28-651/3 01-134

28-484/6 01-181

### IMPORTS:

cotton fibre, yarns, cloth and waste;  
wool fibre, yarns, cloth and rugs;  
staple fibre, synthetic and man-made fibres;  
wool and cotton staple fibre cloth, upholstery and decorative fabrics, raw silk;  
hard fibres and rubber threads;  
textile consumer goods, fancy goods and trimmings;  
raw hides, semi-tanned hides, wool hides, fur skins, furs and footwear.

### EXPORTS:

cotton fibre, cotton yarns, cloth and waste;  
sewing threads and fishing nets;  
wool yarns and cloth;  
raw silk and pure silk fabrics;  
staple fibre, synthetic and man-made fibres;  
cotton and wool type staple fibre cloth;  
decorative fabrics and carpets;  
hard fibre fabrics;  
wool, cotton, and staple fibre blankets;  
various wool and cotton knitwear;  
heavy and light ready-made clothing;  
home fleece and combed wool;  
leather goods, including leather fancy goods, leather clothing and leather footwear;  
Participates in finishing and reprocessing, as well as in  
international trade exchanges.  
Business relations with the most prominent firms all over the world.

### REPRESENTATIVE AGENCIES ABROAD:

#### Great Britain:

149—151 Regen Street, W. 1;  
Heddon House, London E. 1

#### West Germany:

Oberlindau 108  
Frankfurt-am-Main

#### Italy:

Via Angello № 2/IV  
Milan

#### U.S.A.

24, State Street, New York 4, N. Y.

#### Australia:

10/534 New South Head Road  
Double Bay, Sydney N. S. W.

#### Lebanon:

Yugo-Arab Co. S.A.L.  
Gand Hour Building  
Near Hotel "Normandia"  
P.O.B. 4956, Beyrouth

#### United Arab Republic:

12, Bombay Castle Street  
P.O.B. 276, Alexandria



## DANGER OF WAR AND APPEAL FOR PEACE

**T**his Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries is deeply concerned that even apart from already existing tension the grave and critical situation which, as never before, threatens the world with the imminent and ominous prospect of conflict would almost certainly later develop into a World War. In this age of nuclear weapons and the accumulation of the power of mass destruction, such conflict and war would inevitably lead to devastation on a scale hitherto unknown, if not to world annihilation.

2. This Conference considers that this calamity must be avoided, and it is therefore urgent and imperative that the parties concerned, and more particularly the United States of America and the U.S.S.R., should immediately suspend their recent war preparations and approaches, take no steps that would aggravate or contribute to further deteriorations in the situation, and resume negotiation for a peaceful settlement of any outstanding differences between them with due regard to the principles of the United Nations Charter and continue negotiating until both

they and the rest of the world achieve total disarmament and enduring peace.

3. While decisions leading to war or peace at present rest with these great powers, the consequences affect the entire world. All nations and peoples have, therefore, an abiding concern and interest that the approaches and actions of the great powers should be such as to enable mankind to move forward to peace and prosperity and not to the doom of extinction. In the certain knowledge that they seek peace, this Conference appeals to the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to make most immediate and direct approaches to each other to avert the imminent conflict and establish peace.

4. This Conference expresses the earnest hope that all nations not represented here, conscious of the extreme gravity of the situation will make a similar appeal to the leaders of the Powers concerned thereby proclaiming and promoting the desire and determination of all mankind to see the achievement of lasting peace and security for all nations.

## DECLARATION OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

**T**he Conference of Heads of State or Government of the following non-aligned countries:

1. Afghanistan, 2. Algeria, 3. Burma, 4. Cambodia,
5. Ceylon, 6. Congo, 7. Cuba, 8. Cyprus, 9. Ethiopia,
10. Ghana, 11. Guinea, 12. India, 13. Indonesia,
14. Iraq, 15. Lebanon, 16. Mali, 17. Morocco,
18. Nepal, 19. Saudi Arabia, 20. Somalia, 21. Sudan,
22. Tunisia, 23. United Arab Republic, 24. Yemen,
25. Yugoslavia

and of the following countries represented by observers:

1. Bolivia, 2. Brazil, 3. Ecuador

was held in Belgrade from September 1 to 6, 1961, for the purpose of exchanging views on international problems with a view to contributing more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful co-operation among peoples.

The Heads of State or Government of the aforementioned countries have met at a moment when international events have taken a turn for the worst and when world peace is seriously threatened. Deeply

concerned for the future of peace, voicing the aspirations of the vast majority of people of the world, aware that, in our time, no people and no government can or should abandon its responsibilities in regard to the safeguarding of world peace, the participating countries — having examined in detail in an atmosphere of equality, sincerity and mutual confidence, the current state of international relations and trends prevailing in the present-day world — make the following declaration:

The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries noting that there are crises that lead towards a world conflict in the transition from an old order based on domination to a new order based on cooperation between nations, founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of prosperity; considering that the dynamic processes and forms of social change often result in on represent a conflict between the old established and the new emerging nationalist forces; considering that a lasting peace can be achieved only if this confrontation leads to a world where the domination of colonialism-imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations is radically eliminated;



## And recognizing the fact

That acute emergencies threatening world peace now exist in this period of conflict in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America and big power rivalry likely to result in world conflagration cannot be excluded; that to eradicate basically the source of conflict is to eradicate colonialism in all its manifestations and to accept and practice a policy of peaceful co-existence in the world;

that guided by these principles the period of transition and conflict can lay a firm foundation of cooperation and brotherhood between nations, state the following:

### I

War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today. On the other hand, never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations.

Imperialism is weakening. Colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are gradually disappearing from the stage of history. Great successes have been achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality. In the same way, the peoples of Latin America are continuing to make an increasingly effective contribution to the improvement of international relations. Great social changes in the world are further promoting such a development. All this not only accelerates the end of the epoch of foreign oppression of peoples, but also makes peaceful cooperation among peoples, based on the principles of independence and equal rights, an essential condition for their freedom and progress.

Tremendous progress has been achieved in the development of science, techniques and in the means of economic development.

Prompted by such developments in the world, the vast majority of people are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity. This awareness of peoples is becoming a great moral force, capable of exercising a vital influence on the development of international relations.

Relying on this and on the will of their peoples, the Governments of countries participating in the Conference resolutely reject the view that war, including the "cold war", is inevitable, as this view reflects a sense both of helplessness and hopelessness and is contrary to the progress of the world. They affirm their unwavering faith that the international community is able to organize its life without resorting to means which actually belong to a past epoch of human history.

However, the existing military blocs, which are growing into more and more powerful military, economic and political groupings, which, by the logic and nature of their mutual relations, necessarily provoke periodical aggravations of international relations.

The cold war and the constant and acute danger of its being transformed into actual war have become a part of the situation prevailing in international relations.

For all these reasons, the Heads of State and Representatives of Government of non-aligned countries wish, in this way, to draw the attention of the world community to the existing situation and to the necessity that all peoples should exert efforts to find a sure road towards the stabilization of peace.

### II

The present-day world is characterized by the existence of different social systems. The participating countries do not consider that these differences constitute an insurmountable obstacle for the stabilization of peace, provided attempts at domination and interference in the internal development of other peoples and nations are ruled out.

All peoples and nations have to solve the problems of their own political, economic, social and cultural systems in accordance with their own conditions, needs and potentialities.

Furthermore, any attempt at imposing upon peoples one social or political system or another by force and from outside is a direct threat to world peace. The participating countries consider that under such conditions the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to the "cold war" and to a possible general nuclear catastrophe. Therefore, these principles — which include the right of peoples to self-determination, to independence and to the free determination of the forms and methods of economic, social and cultural development — must be the only basis of all international relations.

Active international cooperation in the fields of material and cultural exchanges among peoples is an essential means for the strengthening of confidence in the possibility of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems.

The participants in the Conference emphasize, in this connexion, that the policy of coexistence amounts to an active effort towards the elimination of historical injustices and the liquidation of national oppression, guaranteeing, at the same time, to every people their independent development.

Aware that ideological differences are necessarily a part of the growth of the human society, the participating countries consider that peoples and Governments shall refrain from any use of ideologies for the purpose of waging cold war, exercising pressure, or imposing their will.

### III

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries participating in the Conference are not making concrete proposals for the solution of all international disputes, and particularly disputes between the two blocs. They wish, above all, to draw attention to those acute problems of our time which must be solved rapidly, so that they should not lead to irreparable consequences.



In this respect, they particularly emphasize the need for a great sense of responsibility and realism when undertaking the solution of various problems resulting from differences in social systems.

The non-aligned countries represented at this Conference do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot be a bloc. They sincerely desire to cooperate with any Government which seeks to contribute to the strengthening of confidence and peace in the world. The non-aligned countries wish to proceed in this manner all the more so as they are aware that peace and stability in the world depend, to a considerable extent, on the mutual relations of the Great Powers; Aware of this, the participants in the Conference consider it a matter of principle that the Great Powers take more determined action for the solving of various problems by means of negotiations, displaying at the same time the necessary constructive approach and readiness for reaching solutions which will be mutually acceptable and useful for world peace.

The participants in the Conference consider that, under present conditions, the existence and the activities of non-aligned countries in the interests of peace are one of the more important factors for safeguarding world peace.

The participants in the Conference consider it essential that the non aligned countries should participate in solving outstanding international issues concerning peace and security in the world as none of them can remain unaffected by or indifferent to these issues.

They consider that the further extension of the non-committed area of the world constitutes the only possible and indispensable alternative to the policy of total division of the world into blocs, and intensification of cold war policies. The non-aligned countries provide encouragement and support to all peoples fighting for their independence and equality. The participants in the Conference are convinced that the emergence of newly-liberated countries will further assist in narrowing of the area of bloc antagonisms and thus encourage all tendencies aimed at strengthening peace and promoting peaceful cooperation among independent and equal nations.

1. The participants in the Conference solemnly reaffirm their support to the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", adopted at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and recommend the immediate unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and resolved to make a concerted effort to put an end to all types of new colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations.

2. The participants in the Conference demand that an immediate stop be put to armed action and repressive measures of any kind directed against dependent peoples to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and that the integrity of their national territory should be respected. Any aid given by any country to a colonial power in such sup-

pression is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

The participating countries respecting scrupulously the territorial integrity of all states oppose by all means any aims of annexation by other nations.

3. The participating countries consider the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom, self-determination and independence, and for the integrity of its national territory including the Sahara, to be just and necessary and are therefore, determined to extend to the people of Algeria all the possible support and aid. The Heads of State or Government are particularly gratified that Algeria is represented at this Conference by its rightful representative, the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria.
4. The participating countries drew attention with great concern to the developments in Angola and to the intolerable measures of repression taken by the Portuguese colonial authorities against the people of Angola and demand that an immediate end should be put to any further shedding of blood of the Angolan people, and the people of Angola should be assisted by all peace-loving countries, particularly members states of the United Nations, to establish their free and independent state without delay.
5. The participants in the Conference demand the immediate termination of all colonial occupation and the restoration of the territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it has been violated in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil.
6. The participating countries demand the immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian territory in accordance with the legitimate right of Tunisia to the exercise of its full national sovereignty.
7. The participating countries demand that the tragic events in the Congo must not be repeated and they feel that it is the duty of the world community to continue to do everything in its power in order to erase the consequences and to prevent any further foreign intervention in this young African state, and to enable the Congo to embark freely upon the road of its independent development based on respect for its sovereignty, unity and its territorial integrity.
8. The participants in the Conference resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa and demand the immediate abandonment of this policy. They further state that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world constitutes a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
9. The participating countries declare solemnly the absolute respect of the rights of ethnic or religious minorities to be protected in particular against crimes of genocide or any other violation of their fundamental human rights.



10. The participants in the Conference condemn the imperialist policies pursued in the Middle East, and declare their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.
11. The participating countries consider the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases in the territories of other countries, particularly against their express will, a gross violation of the sovereignty of such States. They declare their full support to countries who are endeavouring to secure the vacation of these bases. They call upon those countries maintaining foreign bases to consider seriously their abolition as a contribution to world peace.
12. They also acknowledge that the North American military base at Guantanamo, Cuba, to the permanence of which the Government and people of Cuba have expressed their opposition, affects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.
13. The participants in the Conference reaffirm their conviction that:
  - (a) All nations have the right of unity, self-determination, and independence by virtue of which right they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance.
  - (b) All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

The participating countries believe that the right of Cuba as that of any other nation to freely choose their political and social systems in accordance with their own conditions, needs and possibilities should be respected
14. The participating countries express their determination that no intimidation, interference or intervention should be brought to bear in the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples, including their right to pursue constructive and independent policies for the attainment and preservation of their sovereignty
15. The participants in the Conference consider that disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent task of mankind. A radical solution of this problem, which has become an urgent necessity in the present state of armaments, in the unanimous view of participating countries, can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and strictly and internationally controlled disarmament
16. The Heads of State or Government point out that general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as elimination of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of internal security; and the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilization of nuclear and thermo-nuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories.
17. The participating countries call upon all States in general, and States exploring outer space at present in particular, to undertake to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. They expressed the hope that the international community will, through collective action, establish an international agency with a view to promote and coordinate the human actions in the field of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space.
18. The participants in the Conference urge the Great Powers to sign without further delay a treaty for general and complete disarmament in order to save mankind from the scourge of war and to release energy and resources now being spent on armaments to be used for the peaceful economic and social development of all mankind. The participating countries also consider that:
  - (a) The non-aligned Nations should be represented at all future world conferences on disarmament;
  - (b) All discussions on disarmament should be held under the auspices of the United Nations;
  - (c) General and complete disarmament should be guaranteed by an effective system of inspection and control, the teams of which should include members of non-aligned Nations.
19. The participants in the Conference consider it essential that an agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests should be urgently concluded. With this aim in view, it is necessary that negotiations be immediately resumed, separately or as part of the negotiations on general disarmament. Meanwhile, the moratorium on the testing of all nuclear weapons should be resumed and observed by all countries.
20. The participants in the Conference recommend that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, at its forthcoming session, adopt a decision on the convening either of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to discussion of disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament.
21. The participants in the Conference consider that efforts should be made to remove economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism. They consider it necessary to close, through accelerated economic, industrial and



agricultural development, the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the many economically less-developed countries. The participants in the Conference recommend the immediate establishment and operation of a United Nations Capital Development Fund. They further agree to demand a just terms of trade for the economically less-developed countries and, in particular, constructive efforts to eliminate the excessive fluctuations in primary commodity trade and the restrictive measures and practices which adversely affect the trade and revenues of the newly-developing countries. In general to demand that the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of international social justice.

22. The participating countries invite all the countries in the course of development to co-operate effectively in the economic and commercial fields so as to face the policies of pressure in the economic sphere, as well as the harmful results which may be created by the economic blocs of the industrial countries. They invite all the countries concerned to consider to convene, as soon as possible an international conference to discuss their common problems and to reach an agreement on the ways and means of repelling all damage which may hinder their development; and to discuss and agree upon the most effective measures to ensure the realization of their economic and social development.
23. The countries participating in the Conference declare that the recipient countries must be free to determine the use of the economic and technical assistance which they receive, and to draw up their own plans and assign priorities in accordance with their needs.
24. The participating countries consider it essential that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, through the revision of the Charter, find a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to bring the composition and work of these two most important organs of the General Assembly into harmony with the needs of the Organisation and with the expanded membership of the United Nations.
25. The unity of the world Organisation and the assuring of the efficiency of its work make it absolutely necessary to evolve a more appropriate structure for the Secretariat of the United Nations, bearing in mind equitable regional distribution.
26. Those of the countries participating in the Conference who recognize the Government of the

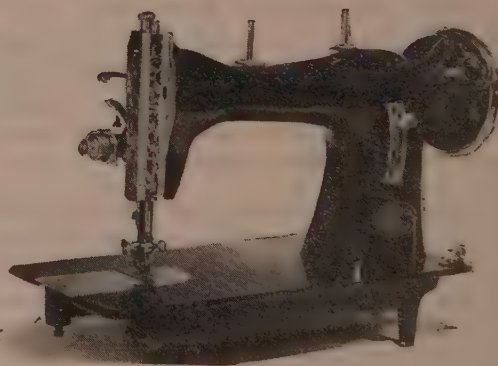
People's Republic of China recommend that the General Assembly in its forthcoming Session should accept the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives of that country in the United Nations.

27. The countries participating in the Conference consider that the German problem is not merely a regional problem but liable to exercise a decisive influence on the course of future developments in international relations.

Concerned at the developments which have led to the present acute aggravation of the situation in regard to Germany and Berlin, the participating countries call upon all parties concerned not to resort to or threaten the use of force to solve the German question or the problem of Berlin, in accordance with the appeal made by the Heads of State or Governments on 5 September, 1961.

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries resolve that this Declaration should be forwarded to the United Nations and brought to the attention of all the Member States of the world Organisation. The present Declaration will be also forwarded to all the other States.

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# Message to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev

The Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade approved the text of the messages sent to President Kennedy of the United States and Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union.

The text of both messages is identical and its unofficial translation reads:  
"Your Excellency,

We, the Heads of State or Government of the countries which took part in the Belgrade Conference held from September 1 to 6, 1961, are taking the liberty of sending you a message treating a question of vital and direct interest to all of us and to the whole of mankind. We are not taking this step in our own name only, but also in the name of the Conference and our peoples — as an expression of their unanimous wishes.

We are deeply concerned over the present deterioration of the international situation and a possible war which threatens mankind. Your Excellency has often pointed out the horrors of a modern war and the use of nuclear weapons, which might destroy the human race, and has often appealed for the preservation of world peace.

At present, we find ourselves on the brink of this danger threatening the world and humanity. We are completely aware of the fact that Your Excellency, like all of us, wishes to prevent such an unfortunate development of the international situation which may not only destroy the hopes for prosperity of our peoples, but also endanger the very existence of mankind. It is our deep conviction that Your Excellency will do all that can be done in order to prevent a catastrophe.

Bearing in mind the gravity of the present crisis which threatens the world and the imperative need to avoid developments which may accelerate this crisis, however, we are taking the liberty of appealing to the Great Powers to renew their negotiations, so as to remove the danger of war in the world and enable mankind to embark upon the road of peace.

In the first place, we are asking for direct negotiations between Your Excellency and the President of the United States, Mr John Kennedy (in the message to President Kennedy this reads: "...between Your Excellency and the President of the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union, Mr Nikita Khrushchev..."), as representatives of the two most powerful nations of our day, in whose hands lies the key to peace and war. Owing to the fact that both of you are devoted to the cause of world peace, we are convinced that your efforts, channeled through constant negotiations, will lead mankind out of the present blind alley, and will enable it to live and create in peace and prosperity.

It is our belief that Your Excellency will understand that, in sending this message, we have been guided by pure love for peace and fear of war, and by an irresistible desire to find solutions to the

outstanding problems, before mankind finds itself faced with disaster."

Both messages end with a note that a message of identical wording has been sent to President Kennedy, i.e. to Premier Khrushchev.

The signatories to the messages were:

Sardar Mohamad Daud, Premier of Afghanistan, Benkhedda Ben Youssef, Prime Minister of the Provisional Algerian Government, U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Sirimavo R. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Foreign Minister of Ceylon, Cyrille Adoula, Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of Congo, Dr Osvaldo Dorticos, President of Cuba, Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, Beavogui Luis Lansana, Foreign Minister of Guinea, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Dr Ahmed Soekarno, President of Indonesia, Dr Hashim Jawad, Foreign Minister of Iraq and personal representative of the Iraqi Prime Minister, Saeb Salam, leader of the Lebanese delegation to the Conference and President of the Ministerial Council, Modibo Keita, President of Mali, King Hassan II of Morocco, Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, King of Nepal, Sheikh Ibrahim Sowayel, Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia and personal envoy of King Ibn Saud, Adan Abdullah Osman, President of Somalia, Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council of the Sudanese Armed Forces, Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia, Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, Prince Seyful Islam el Hassan, personal representative of His Majesty the King of Yemen, and Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia.

## Conference and the World

The Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries aroused great interest of the world public. This fact is best illustrated by the following data:

— More than thirty representatives of various progressive political parties and anticolonialist movements of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America followed the work of the Conference;

— Over 1,000 representatives of the Yugoslav and foreign press, radio, television and film were informing the world of the Conference proceedings;

— The Conference received about 900 telegrams and messages of greetings from prominent statesmen, political and social organizations from all over the world. President Kennedy of the United States, Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union and Premier Chou en Lai of China and a number of other statesmen were among those who sent greetings to the Conference.





“BORAC”

GARMENTS

UNDERWEAR

AND FOOTWEAR

MANUFACTURER

TRAVNIK



The "BORAC" factory Garments, Underwear and Footwear Manufacturer is one of the group of large factories in the People's Republic Bosnia and Hercegovina which have been founded in the course of the last ten years. Its main efforts have been concentrated on the up-to-date organization of manufacturing processes and on the high efficiency of the qualified staff.

The result of this are increasing output and constant improvement of the finished products. At the present time the quality of the garments, underwear and footwear made by "BORAC" are well known, not only in Yugoslavia but also on the European and Near East markets, where its products are in increasing demand.

High quality production has enabled favourable marketing and an increasing demands for these products. Owing to decreased production costs, the management of the works has been able to reduce prices, this being very favourably accepted in the market.

The successful development of the works is the result of the sound basic aims set forth by the Workers Management.

Today "BORAC" in Travnik employs qualified staff, which makes it possible constantly to widen the assortment of products, and with the application of the most modern processing methods, the works have attained a high rate of productivity of good quality products. In the last three years many of the products exhibited in Zagreb Fair, the International Textile Fair at Leskovac and the "Fashion 1960" Fair in Ljubljana, were awarded medals for fashionable cut and good quality

Apart from existing direct business connections for placing its products on foreign markets, a considerable quantity is exported through the specialized export enterprise "CENTRO-TEKSTIL" Belgrade. The large capacity of the works enables the factory to accept orders of considerable value for all kinds of garments and underwear, and the results obtained in this respect fully guarantee high quality material, workmanship, deliveries etc.

The managers of the works stated to our correspondent that the main difficulties have since been overcome. Efforts are directed now to mastering new products and improving the quality of the articles in which members of the staff expect new successes.



# FAP



The Yugoslav motor car industry is relatively young and is still in the course of development. Although many years of experience and knowledge are needed for the expansion and successful operation of this branch of industry, the results so far achieved in this field are quite satisfactory. For example, the number of vehicles which are being delivered to both the domestic and foreign markets, is steadily increasing from year to year.

The FAP Motor Vehicle Factory of Priboj has gained a prominent place among other Yugoslav motor car manufacturers.

When, on October 30, 1953, the FAP Factory was set into operation, few people believed that its products would be on the market so soon. The number of those who believed that these products would fully satisfy the needs of Yugoslavia and other countries, was even smaller. However, it was proved shortly that lorries, busses and special vehicles manufactured at Priboj did not lag behind those produced by world-known firms.

The beginning was quite modest. Seven of the largest European factories, manufacturers of heavy lorries and similar types of vehicles, offered their licences to the then newly-established, small factory situated in the Lika River valley. And, finally, after long and thorough tests and experimental drives, the licence of the Austrian firm of SAURER WERKE was accepted.

At first, the factory was chiefly engaged in the assembly of imported parts in working premises which were originally intended for a maintenance workshop. However, work was started soon on the drawing up of an investment programme for the new factory. This programme was completed in 1954 and approved in 1955, and that year marked a turning point in the development of the FAP Factory.

In a short time the workers and employees of this factory succeeded, in deciding on a series of questions, the solving of which would normally have taken years. Parallel with the building of new factory departments and the supply of new machinery, the working collectivity was gaining more and more experience. Thus, for example, the first important successes in the manufacture of lorries and buses were already recorded in the first years of the factory's operation.

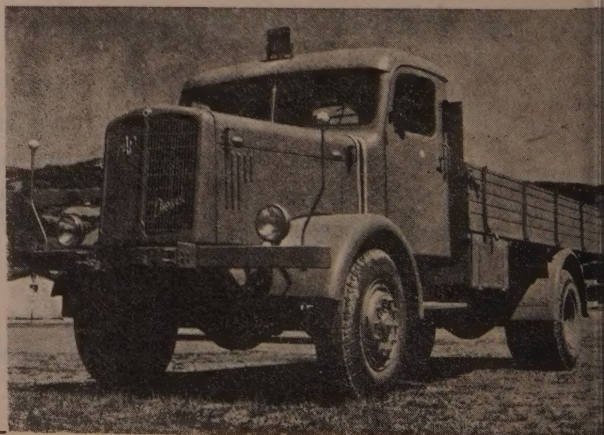
A steadily increasing number of vehicles was coming off the assembly line. These successes are best illustrated by the figures showing the increase made in the 1953—1960 period.

For instance, only 21 vehicles had been manufactured in 1953 whereas 1,500 vehicles of various types were ready for delivery in 1960. This year, however, it is planned to manufacture 2,100 vehicles, and 3,600 in 1964.

It is a well-known fact that success cannot be achieved without great efforts and hard work, and it is likewise clear that much had to be done in order to transform a maintenance workshop into a modern centre of the motor industry.

## PRIBOJ

## YUGOSLAVIA





A new investment programme for the completion of the factory was drawn up in 1956 and 1957.

In the meantime, i.e. when the necessary funds for the completion of the factory had to be secured, the factory decided fully to master the manufacture of vehicles by expanding cooperation with other Yugoslav enterprises. Large-scale production of all parts which could be manufactured in the country was immediately started either in the FAP Factory itself or in some other Yugoslav factories. Among those who joined this daring undertaking, FAMOS of Sarajevo, BRATSTVO of Travnik, INDUSTRIJA TRAKTORA I MOTORA (Motor and Tractor Industry) of Zemun, PRVA PETOLJETKA, IKARUS, 11 OKTOMVRI of Skopje, AUTOKAROSERIJA of Zagreb, ITAS of Kočevje, and a large number of smaller enterprises deserve particular mention. When the investment programme was approved work began immediately on the building of new factory plants and a housing settlement.

The 7-ton 6GGF-L lorry was the factory's first product. This lorry is still FAP's main product. New investments, larger number of workers and the expanded cooperation with other enterprises, together with bigger production, resulted in an enlargement of the list of the factory's products. Today, FAP manufactures:

- 5-ton and heavier lorries with one or two differentials; with the standard or »Trambus« driver's cabin and kippers for unloading on three sides;
- special vehicles, such as: refrigerated lorries, cement silos, fire-fighting cars, cisterns, sprayers, vehicles for the transport of debris, vehicles for the transport of cattle, etc.

The sale of all the factory's products is done directly by its Sales Department in Belgrade, and through representative agencies. These agencies have been opened in all Republican centres and they operate on defined territories, although each of them may cover the whole country.

The largest number of vehicles manufactured by the FAP Factory has been purchased by various transport and tourist agencies. They account for about 30 percent of the factory's products put on sale. It is expected that this percentage will be increased in the future. The factory gives a six-month guarantee (10,000 kilometres) for all its vehicles.

The quality of the products has already been proved. They have shown good results when driven under normal conditions and properly maintained. In such circumstances, the FAP vehicles can be driven 150,000—200,000 kilometres without a general repair. Moreover, these vehicles have also shown excellent results in difficult conditions. This can best be seen from the fact that a large number of drivers who have been at the steering wheel of the FAP vehicles have been rewarded and many of them have covered more than 100,000 kilometres without a general repair.

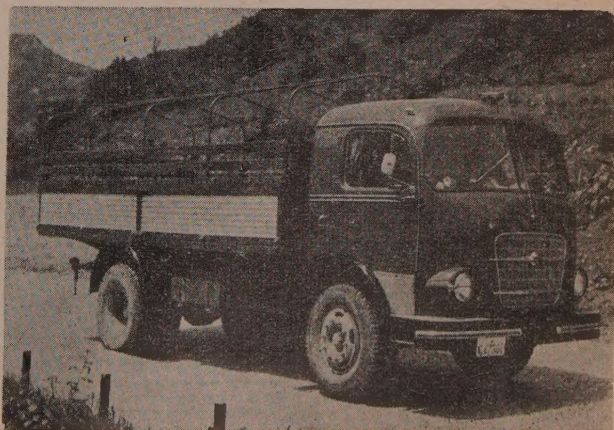
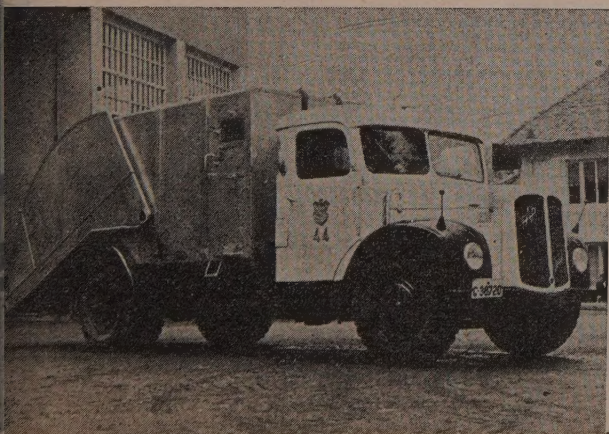
Durability, comfort and economy of the FAP vehicles have attracted the attention of foreign buyers and the factory daily receives numerous inquiries from many countries. The results so far achieved on foreign markets undeniably speak in favour of the factory's products. Let us mention here that over 200 types of vehicles have so far been exported to the Middle and Near East countries and to some European countries as well.

It is worth mentioning that these vehicles have shown good results in all climatic and atmospheric conditions.

# MOTOR

# VEHICLE

# FACTORY







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## *Review of* INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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